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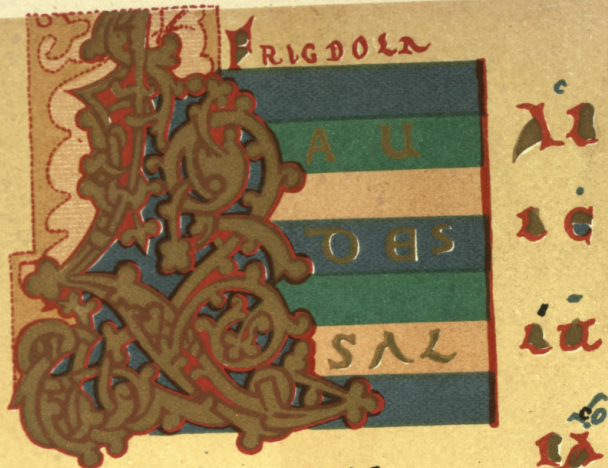


THE
HISTORY OF MUSIC
EMIL NAUMANN



A. M. Ashley Richards

1895



UATORI VOCE

modulemur supplici

et deuotis melodis cae

lesti dño iubilemus messie

ui se ipsum exinamuit uenos

pditos liberaret homines

arne gloria dicatis occulens

FAC-SIMILE OF THE FIRST PAGE OF NOTKER'S "OSTERSEQUENZ" LAUDES SALVATORI.
From the MS. 121 at Einsiedeln.

HODIE CAN
TANDUS FSI NO
bis puer quem gign
ebat ineffabiliter ante
tempora pater et eundem sub
tempore generauit in clyta
MATER

FAC-SIMILE OF TROPUS TUTILO'S HODIE CANTANDUS.
From the MS. 378 at St Gall. Tenth Century.

THE
HISTORY OF MUSIC

BY
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EDWARD LLOYD.

From a photograph by Elliott & Fry.



MADAME CHRISTINE NILSSON.

From a photograph by Walery, London.



CHARLES GOUNOD.

From a photograph by the London Stereoscopic Co.

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THE GROWTH OF POLYPHONY FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.



THE last chapter dealt with the history of music up to the fourteenth century, treating chiefly of courtly poetry and popular song. In tracing the rise and progress of Minnesong and its subsequent transmutation into the Meistersong, we were led as far as the fifteenth century, and even somewhat later. But with the consideration of the growth of polyphony, we must return to the twelfth century—to that period during which art-music developed itself from the simple secular song of the people. And as it was the music of the Church which almost exclusively throughout the Middle Ages represented art-music, it is therefore that to which we now return.

Hitherto, in tracing the history of Church music, we have noticed how rigidly the melodic and rhythmical side only of the tonal art had been developed. Henceforth it was to be a free, self-existing art. The trammels of conventionality and clerical doctrines, by which it had been bound for so long, were now cast on one side, and in the development of polyphony, a new, independent, and unshackled existence was about to begin.

For the first time it now began to assume the characteristics of an Art, and it is noteworthy that almost contemporaneously with the birth of polyphony the art of painting entered on a new life. In the same way that many anxious attempts were made to add an accompaniment, as it were, of underlying parts to melody in music, so painting, which hitherto had consisted in the mere delineation of outline form,

began to acquire polyphony of its own—*i.e.*, perspective, colouring, and chiaroscuro.

Foremost among the pioneers in the development of polyphony must be commemorated the name of Franco of Cologne. The death of Franco in all probability did not take place until the year 1220 A.D., and in mentioning him we are therefore transported immediately to the latter part of the twelfth and the early part of the thirteenth centuries. But in order to gain a complete and clear conception of the triumphal march of polyphony from its very earliest beginning, we must retrace our steps as far back as the opening of the twelfth century; for it must not be supposed, as has formerly erroneously been the custom, that in giving to the world his Mensural theory Franco founded this glorious new era in the tonal art. The most learned of our modern investigators have agreed that in the development of polyphony Franco was but the gifted and clever disciple of a grand national school which had been established in the north-west of Europe in the twelfth century. With the formation of this school, the individual efforts of men of various nations to found a basis on which music should exist as a self-dependent art now gave place to united action.

In order to keep strictly to the consideration of the rise and progress of the school, and to avoid being led astray by detailing the efforts of contemporaneous men, I preferred to treat of Franco of Cologne and Marchetto of Padua (although reaching into the fourteenth century) in the seventh chapter of this history. Marchetto appears to me to be the last representative of that republic of clerical savants who, before general European music was influenced from one particular centre, worked energetically in the cloister for the success of the art they loved, which, it must be remembered, at that time was more a science than an art.

Turning now to the first purely national school—Paris—that was ever instituted, we find the names of learned monks, doctors of theology, and others belonging to the clerical profession inscribed on its long roll of members. As may be expected, all works treating of the tonal art that emanated from these clerical savants were written in the Latin tongue. Later on we meet the names of men who were musicians, and musicians only, that is, men who lived solely by the practice of

music. Such teachers were also to be found in the two schools founded in England and Gallic Belgium, both offshoots of the Paris school. First among these purely musical teachers were the chapel-masters of the cathedral of Nôtre Dame, in Paris. It is not to be denied that some of them may have taken the early vows of priesthood; but certain it is that they were not fully ordained, and therefore cannot be looked upon as clericals. I may be excused for drawing special attention to the social status of our first professional musicians, but their standing cannot be underrated when we remember how severe had been the social ostracism of the wayfaring musicians of France, Germany, and the Netherlands.

As we shall have to speak of the great French school and the influence which it exercised over all Northern Europe in detail, it will be advisable to treat of it in strict chronological sequence. In this way we shall also deal with those two schools, the descendants of the Parisian institution. Hitherto, such a survey has either never been attempted, or, where such has been essayed, nothing conclusive has been established. Doubtless the dates which I give may require slight modification in some instances, but on the whole they will be found to be correct.

Prior to the year 1875 A.D. there were but few musical historians who were cognisant that such a school had ever existed. Even to-day the knowledge of the general musical public is very vague on this really important subject. If we deal with the parent school and its offshoots according to the success and importance of their chief representatives, we shall treat first of the Paris school, and of the period between the twelfth and the middle of the fourteenth centuries. Although this epoch might be extended from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries, I have restricted it to our first dates, because it was during this time that a grammar and method were acquired bearing the distinctive characteristics of a special school. It was during this era also that it so strongly influenced the tendencies of the northern schools, and, indeed, was their exclusive teacher. The grammatical rules show a logical sequence which could only have been the natural outcome of an earnest, united, mental striving for something higher and nobler than had hitherto existed. Geographically, the old French school may be located between the rivers Seine and Somme, or in a wider sense may be said to have comprised the territory bounded by Orleans and Burgundy and the Belgian frontier.

The most important school which rose out of the old French would appear to be the Gallic-Belgian, the period during which it achieved its greatest successes being from 1360 to 1460 A.D. The early English school dates from a somewhat earlier period. Its influence, however, on the general cultivation of music in Europe cannot be said to have been so great as that of the Gallic-Belgian school. The name of the latter is justified by its geographical situation, comprising as it did Artois, Picardy, French Flanders, and the southern half of Hennegau, as well as West Flanders and the Belgian half of Hennegau.* A third school was instituted in the Netherlands, and this may be said to have reached the zenith of its fame during the century 1460—1560 A.D. By reason of the obscurity with which the old French school had been surrounded up to so recent a date as 1875, that founded in the Netherlands has always been regarded as the oldest of all national tonal schools of Christian Europe, and not by *dilettanti* only but by the whole musical world.† The fame of the Netherland school spread with astonishing rapidity throughout Europe, and its unqualified success was such that the parent old French school was entirely forgotten. The Gallic-Belgian school, although occupying a marked position between the old French and Netherland schools, yet gradually became identified with the latter. About the middle of the fifteenth century teachers were sent forth from the Netherland school into Italy, France, Germany, and Spain, to establish schools and to disseminate a knowledge of their own principles, totally ignoring the methods of all other institutions.

But the old French and Gallic-Belgian schools were not entirely obliterated. They possessed some zealous teachers, who worked so enthusiastically for the success of their respective tenets that they raised up followers in England, Germany, Italy, and even the Netherlands itself. Yet this very success was limited. The disciples it called forth never became more than theorists and scholastic contrapuntists. They were never, like the Netherlanders, singers, singing-masters, organists, and *practical* musicians;

* As at least one-half of these provinces is inhabited by Flemings, the school might equally be called the Gallic-Flemish.

† After Coussemaker's discoveries, this can no longer be admitted. I myself have also laid great stress on this in a work entitled "The Italian Tone-Poets," published by Oppenheim, of Berlin, 1874.

and as the stock of professors of the two schools was but small, those who were desirous of enrolling themselves as pupils of either institution were compelled to attend for instruction at Paris and Tournai, the respective centres of the two schools. The dissimilarity of the doctrines of the schools showed itself strongly in the social classes to which they were addressed. The Parisians sought for disciples exclusively among the church-folk and strictly religious and learned musical circles. The Netherlanders sought a wider public, addressing themselves to the whole of Europe, and they were so far successful as to gain the approbation of princes, and even of the Pope. Besides founding new schools, they instituted choirs, the members of which consisted of well-instructed musicians sent forth from the Netherlands. These choral bodies were received with acclamation wherever they went.

It is interesting to note that the development of the tonal art, which from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries had been sporadic, both artistically and geographically, began from the middle of the latter century to solidify itself into an organic whole.

It did not, however, as might well be supposed, confine itself to the ever-blue sky and genial climate of Italy, but turned first towards the inclement north—*i.e.*, to the people inhabiting the countries between the mouths of the Seine and Rhine. Thence it suddenly turned to the south, so that for a period of nearly two centuries (1560—1725 A.D.) the Italians became the leading musical nation in Europe, the French having held that honoured position for more than two centuries, the Gallic Belgians and the Netherlanders a century each.

It may be asked what part did the Germans play during these six hundred years that the tonal art was trying to achieve for itself an independent existence? Did they stand aloof whilst their neighbours were exerting themselves? No; for notwithstanding that the movement began in the north-west of Europe, passed through Germany, to finally settle in the south of Europe, it found no congenial soil in the Fatherland whereon might be established a school. And yet the Germans were the most gifted pupils of the old French, the Netherland, the Gallic-Belgian, and even of the Italian schools. They profited considerably more than did the English, Spanish, or Portuguese from the same sources, and so much so that we may safely assert that from the middle of the eighteenth century up to our

present time the Germans have been the leading musical nation in Europe. But who would have the boldness to avèr that the German people, after having led the van of musical thought for nearly one hundred and fifty years, will hold it until the end of time? Their duty, however, will undoubtedly be to uphold and maintain sincerity of purpose and perfection of form in the tonal art, which is and must be the test of true excellence; and in this the Germans have always taken a foremost place.

CHAPTER IX.

THE OLD FRENCH SCHOOL UP TO THE TIME OF DUFAY.

SINCE the year 1773 A.D., when Goethe, who was then but a youth, wrote that laudatory effusion on Erwin von Steinbach and Strasburg Cathedral, it has not been without a struggle that the Germans have given up all claims to the Gothic style in architecture as the outgrowth of their own national individuality. Even as late as 1822—1831 A.D., Sulpice Boissérée, in his excellent work on Cologne Cathedral, falls into the error of alluding to the Gothic pointed arch as Germanic; and it was not until the most recent times that it has been incontestably proved that the Gothic style is of French and not Teutonic origin.

Bearing this in mind, we find that an interesting analogy, artistic and historical, suggests itself in reference to the progress of the tonal art. That same Paris whence emanated the richest of all styles of Christian architecture, was also the birthplace of polyphony. The component parts of the latter can be entwined and separated into independent members in the same way that the several constituent elements of a Gothic building may be disunited and again formed into a concrete whole.

The various parts of a score (*partitur*), called by the French and Italians *parte* and *partie*, seem to find their counterpart in the several component elements in architecture. If the comparison be accepted, it would appear to be more than mere accident that the same country—nay,

the same city—should have been the birthplace of both.* Such an historical fact is in itself sufficient to stamp the old French school with importance. For if this school could lay the foundation of a style which in music occupies a position analogous to the Gothic in architecture, then its praises cannot be too highly extolled.

The fact that the polyphonic style in music originated in the same city as the polyphonic in architecture is incontestably proved by Coussemaker from a number of documents hitherto unknown. The purpose of Coussemaker, however, was other than ours. He endeavoured to accumulate information to fill up the gap that existed in the history of music during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Certainly there was a highly meritorious work then extant on the subject, by the Abbé Gerbert von Hornau, in three volumes, entitled, "*Scriptores Ecclesiastici de Musicâ Sacrâ Potissimum*," published at St. Blasien in 1784 A.D. It was compiled from the writings of old authors, but the paucity of authentic documentary evidence was insufficient to enable one to arrive at any clear conception of the history of Church music during the Middle Ages.

To show how greatly we are indebted to Coussemaker for his arduous exertions, we have but to state that this learned investigator enables us to antedate the birth of double counterpoint by nearly four centuries beyond what had hitherto been accepted. He also introduces to our notice for the first time some 500 composers and about 1,200 compositions, all bearing more or less evidence of the contrapuntist's skill.

The chief source whence Coussemaker derived his information was a manuscript now in the library of the Medical Faculty at Montpellier. He extracted with rare discrimination the essential parts of the old manuscript, publishing them, together with able and learned commentaries, in Paris,

* In directing attention, we think for the first time, to this remarkable parallelism of two arts apparently so dissimilar, and which by careful investigation has been proved to be more than superficial, we are constrained to add that the striking similarity pointed out in the "*Tonkunst in der Culturgeschichte*" ("*The Tonal Art and the History of Civilisation*"), Berlin, 1869 A.D., as existing between the idealic conception and the constructive form of music, poetry, architecture, sculpture, and painting, is hereby strengthened. The musical discoveries of Coussemaker possess therefore for the writer personal interest besides their historical importance, in that they confirm by a number of new facts the assertions made by him thirteen years ago.

in the year 1865.* The issue of this work, entitled, "L'Art Harmonique aux XII^e et XIII^e Siècles," was limited to 300 copies only, as it was intended for the exclusive use of scientific bodies. Of the 340 specimens which were taken from the Montpellier manuscript, fifty-one are said to belong to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They are all reproduced in their original notation, with the highly-coloured initial letters, miniatures, and arabesques that surround the pages, all of which were done by the inhabitants of the cloisters. The coloured illustration at the beginning of this Part is taken from "L'Art Harmonique," and represents in a characteristically graceful manner three monks chanting from an antiphonal. It would be beyond the scope and limits of the present work to enumerate all the composers and compositions which the fortunate discoveries of Coussemaker have brought to light.† It will be sufficient for our purpose if we refer to ten of the most prominent of the masters of the old French school,‡ dealing with them in chronological order, and dividing them, according to their progressive mental strivings, into four groups. Coussemaker also adopts for his purpose four periods. We cannot, however, admit the first period laid down by Coussemaker (1070—1100 A.D.) as belonging to the old French school, for the development of the tonal art then going on was not confined exclusively to the north-east of France, but was common to all Europe. It was at this time that all Christendom was anxiously striving to improve the Mensural song. Omitting, therefore, this first division of Coussemaker, the remaining sections, as divided by him, become for us 1, 2, and 3. The fourth

* Not 1864 A.D., as stated in the inaccurate article on "Coussemaker" in Mendel's Lexicon.

† Besides the valuable authorities to which Coussemaker refers us in his "L'Art Harmonique," he also supplies us with the titles of additional works of reference in some of his earlier works—*e.g.*, "Notice sur un Manuscrit Musical de la Bibliothèque de Saint Dié," par Charles Edmond Henri de Coussemaker, Paris et Lille, 1859 A.D.; "Les Harmonistes du Quatorzième Siècle," Lille, 1869 A.D.; "Sources Historiques de l'Art Musical au XIV^e Siècle;" "Notices sur les Collections Musicales de la Bibliothèque de Cambrai et des autres villes du Département du Nord," Paris, 1843 A.D.; "Scriptorum de Musica medii aevi nova series a Gebertina altera," tom. i., Paris, 1864; "Messe du XIII^e Siècle."

‡ If we were to take into account the Englishman Walter Odington, and also Franco of Cologne—both of them undoubted disciples of the French Déchanters—we should increase our number to twelve. But Franco occupied too marked a position in his own country (see Chapter VII.) to connect him exclusively with the French school, and of Odington it is not even known that he ever visited Paris.

period, which we have added, embraces an era totally disregarded by Coussemaker as belonging to the Parisian school; but this was evidently because he did not make it the subject of a sufficiently searching inquiry.*

Before we enter, however, upon a consideration of our four periods, it will be advantageous to glance at the musical technique and multiplicity of musical forms which owe their origin to the old French school. We shall then be better enabled to understand and appreciate our ten selected masters and their works.

We turn, therefore, first to *counterpoint*, as the most important. It is almost certain that counterpoint, as we understand it to-day, was first practised in Paris, although naturally in a cruder form. The juxtaposition of two parts was undoubtedly known to the Parisians in the twelfth century, but was then, and up to the middle of the thirteenth century, called *discantus*. About this time the term *Contrapunctus*, as applied to two progressing and independent parts, first came into notice. The supposition that Jean Charlier, "Doctor Christianissimus" and Chancellor of the University of Paris, was the first to use *contrapunctus* because it appears in his "*Doctrina pro pueris Ecclesiæ Parisiensis*," 1408 A.D., is entirely erroneous. The reference to Paris and its choristers, and the frequent use of the word *contrapunctus* as applying to something already known, should have dispelled any doubt as to its earlier existence, and at the same time have pointed to the fact that Paris was its birthplace.

A counterpoint, as we understand it to-day, was only possible in the Mensural song, because as the *cantus firmus* consisted of measured notes, it admitted of a *counter* part in which the notes might possess a value other than those of the melody, and which would also lead to a different rhythmical construction.† This was impossible with the earlier Church melodies. Hucbald's *Organum* and Guido's *Diaphony*, with their progressive parts of equal value, moving mostly in the same direction, were but the initiatory

* Coussemaker does not by any means confine himself to a consideration of the French Déchanters in his "*L'Art Harmonique*;" yet there is no denying that he accepts Paris as the centre from which *discantism* spread throughout Europe, and it is in this sense that he is to be regarded as the special historian of the Parisian school.

† The earliest meaning of counterpoint signified Note against Note (*punctus contra punctum*)—i.e., a progression of two parts in which each pair of notes was equal in value. It was only when the counter-movement assumed a different accent and a value other than the *cantus firmus* that the counterpoint rose to that higher importance which everywhere in art is caused by contrasted elements.

steps of counterpoint. Its completion consists in the acting together of two parts absolutely independent of each other. Only the perfect freedom of each part could elevate counterpoint into an art, and give the hearer the impression of a freely constructed whole; and this is the merit which belongs to the old French school.

The way was prepared for the introduction of counterpoint by the practice which the discantists—*i.e.*, the singers of the voice part above the *cantus firmus*—indulged in, viz., that of adding melodic ornaments to certain notes of the fixed chant. Such embellishment at will by the first voice was called *contrapunctus a mente*, as opposed to the written counterpoint called *contrapunctus a penna*. The melodic flourishes, or Fleurettes, which the discantists delighted to indulge in were often very pleasing, and received the name of *contrapunctus floridus*.* But the practice of discanting according to the Organum of Huchald, and the Diaphonie of Guido—*i.e.*, chanting a fourth and fifth higher than the *cantus firmus*, soon began to weary both singer and auditor, notwithstanding the abundant use of Fleurettes. It was felt that the melody of the upper voice must be entirely independent of the *cantus firmus*; and this was soon to be brought about. Such a change was of the utmost importance in the subsequent development of the tonal art. It laid the foundation upon which the whole fabric of our modern music is built. It had reached that point whence any return to the fetters of ancient musical tradition became impossible. Christian music was beginning to assert itself, and it is with no surprise that we trace in the writings of the old French masters an evident striving after polyphony. Indeed, the germs of polyphony were then really in existence, and prepared for development. When the possibility of the simultaneous singing of two parts entirely independent of each other was admitted, then the next most natural step of the blending of three or even four voices must soon have presented itself to the tone-masters of the day; and we are not wanting in corroborative evidence of this. Very soon a large number of variously constructed compositions began to make their appearance. In reviewing

* Besides the Fleurettes (Italian *floriture* or *flori*, and in the monkish Latin of the composers of the old French school *floraturæ*) the Parisians admitted a second style of embellishment, which received the name of Copula. It consisted of a quick succession of notes, of a less melodic nature than the *floraturæ*, the Brevis being sung like a Semibrevis, and the Longa like a Brevis.

these we shall regard them from two points : firstly, those having a greater or lesser number of parts, and secondly, those with a peculiar artistic form.

With regard to the number of parts—*i.e.*, the comparative richness of harmonic combination—the old French school can boast of three kinds, viz., the Déchant (*Discant*) or Double (called by the Latin theorists *Duplum*) ; the Triple (*Triplum*) ; and the Quadruple (*Quadruplum*) ; or, in other words, contrapuntal compositions of two, three, and four parts.

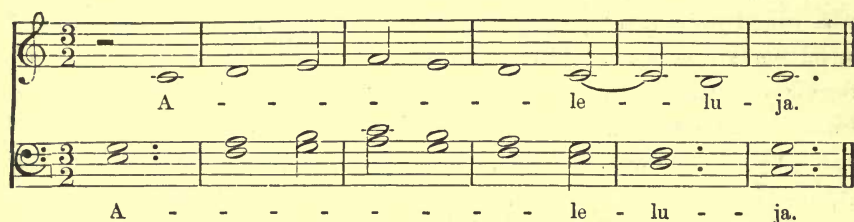
At first every harmonic composition with regularly measured notes was called a Discant. Then the term was applied to the part which stood immediately above the tenor, *i.e.*, the *cantus firmus* or melody recognised by the Church.* Later it was applied to *all* two-part compositions, finally returning to its original signification as specifying the upper part only. A Déchant was therefore possible in two ways : either it was the sacred *cantus firmus*, to which a Discant was invented, or a free improvised Discant to which a lower voice, or in modern parlance a bass, might be added.

The Triplum (or three-part voice) was governed by strict harmonic rules, and might be either in the form of a *Motet*, *Rondeau*, or *Conduit*—forms of composition of which we shall speak hereafter. Under this division may be included the French *Fauxbourdon*, although referring more to the manner of singing than to the composition itself. The Fauxbourdon was a method of singing that developed itself in North France in the twelfth century shortly after the *Discantus*. Written in three parts, it was superior to the Déchant, and yet at the same time inferior in that it returned to the old Organum ; although, embracing an extended tonal range, and possessing certain modifications, it was a vast improvement on Hucbald's system. The term Fauxbourdon arose through the tenor-representative of the *cantus firmus* singing a part other than his own ; hence Fauxbourdon, or false tenor. This explanation is given by Michael Prætorius, 1619 A.D. *Bourdonner* in French is “to hum” or “to drone,” and the intoning of a passage with close-lying parts by three voices (as was necessarily the case, the Fauxbourdon being constructed on the lines of the Organum) could have had none other than a droning effect. If the Fauxbourdon were sung in the low register, the droning effect must

* The word tenor is derived from *tenere*—*i.e.*, to hold, applied in this case to the voice holding the *cantus firmus*.

have been greatly intensified. The big bell of Notre Dame is, on account of its humming tone, to this day called the "Bourdon."

The Fauxbourdon in its oldest form consisted of an upper and lower part progressing in parallel sixths. To this was added a middle part moving in fourths with the discant (therefore with a progression similar to Huebald's Organum), and in thirds with the bass.* The following example will serve to illustrate the Fauxbourdon as it was in the thirteenth century.



Such a method of chanting must be regarded as unusually mellifluous considering the period. It was, however, looked upon with great disfavour by the composers of the French school, solely on account of its simplicity. They preferred the harsher discant, because it permitted an independent movement of the upper voice. During that time when the Papal chair was at Avignon (1309—1377 A.D.), the choristers of the Romish Church became acquainted with the Fauxbourdon. The style was found to be so agreeable and suitable to the priestly method of intonation that it was introduced into Italy, and under the name of *Falso-Bordone* we find their various polyphonic methods of chanting the Psalms and Responses.†

The old French masters never exceeded four parts (the *Quadruplum*) in their compositions. That such works had ever existed at so early a period would be declared impossible were it not for the discovery of the *Montpellier manuscript*; but this valuable codex places the matter beyond all doubt.

* This explanation is almost the identical language used by Franchinus Gaforius in the fifteenth century.

† The progressive thirds and sixths introduced by the Fauxbourdon have, by reason of their mellifluousness, remained in favour up to the present day, all the great masters using them—*e.g.*, in the priests' chorus of Mozart's *Magic Flute*, in the pianoforte works of Beethoven, and his grand Mass in C; and also in the vocal compositions of Bach, Handel, Palestrina, and other masters.

In this celebrated document there are no less than seventeen Quadrupla, one of them being the composition of the learned Perotin, proving that as early as the first half of the twelfth century four-part writing was attempted in Paris.

Turning our attention now to the art-forms of the French school, we trace three distinct kinds.

The first is the Motette. The learned theorist Walter Odington, who wrote his great treatise on the Theory of Music in 1217 A.D.,* seeks to derive the name from the fact that in compositions of this class one can always find a *motus brevis cantilenæ*—i.e., a short melody. But the Motettes of that time possessed other distinguishing features. One very remarkable one was the practice of supplying each voice with a different text, thereby materially helping to prepare the way of making each part musically independent. This practice finds great favour with operatic writers when dealing with ensembles.†

The Motet form of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, strange to say, entirely disappears in France in the fifteenth century; in the Netherlands, however, it was cultivated with signal success by Josquin des Près, Orlandus Lassus, and Gombert, and also in Italy, especially in the Roman school, where Palestrina raised it to its highest perfection in the sixteenth century. In the Protestant Church it underwent an entirely new form of development from the time of Luther—a warm admirer of the Motet—down to Sebastian Bach and his followers. Yet it retained something of its old nature, the differing voices having dissimilar texts allotted to them. In the Chorales of Bach and his predecessors, the voice singing the melody is always provided with a text other than that of the

* Fétis, "Biographie Universelle des Musiciens," 2^{me} édition, t. 3, p. 317. Coussemaker dates this treatise at the end of the twelfth century.

† The word Motette with the Paris school signified not only this special form of composition, but also certain voices. In the Duplum, the voice above the tenor was often called Motet, instead of Discant, and in the Triplum the middle voice received that name. In the Quadruplum the voices were designated as follows:—The highest voice, the Quadruplum; the upper middle voice, the Triplum; the lower middle voice, the Motet; and the lowest voice, the Tenor. Here it will be noticed that the Motet stood immediately over the tenor, the latter, therefore, taking the place of the bass; and yet not the place of the bass as we understand it, for the composers of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries were not then acquainted with any harmonies based on chords. They merely looked upon the voices as individual elements, appearing to totally ignore concrete harmony. Adrian Willaert, the celebrated Fleming (sixteenth century), was the first to use unbroken chords, instead of the hitherto intertwined vocalisation.

remaining voices. This practice was very prevalent in the latter half of the eighteenth century.*

The second form, the Rondeau (Rondo), appears to have been evolved by the Paris school out of the folk-music. In the Rondeau, or Rondellus, the voices do not sing different words. The two specimens, each with three parts, by Adam de la Hale, given in the manuscript of Montpellier, are exceptions to this, as here each voice has a special text. They are given in their entirety in Coussemaker's book, Nos. 27 and 28. In No. 27 the first voice begins with the old French secular verse, "Dame, bele et avenant;" the second voice with "Fi, mari, de vostre amour;" the third with "Nus niert ja jolis s'il n'aime." The following Rondo, by Adam de la Hale, has but one text for all three voices.†

No. 167.

Tant com je vi - - - vrai,

N'a - me - - - rai au - - - - trui

* The practice of providing the various voices with different texts in Motets must not be confounded with a somewhat similar procedure in the scores of Catholic Masses of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Here the secular text of the tenor's *cantus firmus* was not unfrequently taken from popular tunes, quite independent of the Mass texts of the other voices. In the Motet the various texts stood always in some kind of mental relation to each other, and in the writings of the evangelical composers this was exclusively so, but in the Mass this mental connection was entirely wanting.

† The above example, deciphered by Coussemaker, is put into modern notation by the

que..... vous; Ja n'en

par - ti - - - rai.

I am strongly convinced that a little piece of music like that given above was not sung in the thirteenth century in too slow a tempo. Its seeming heaviness must not mislead us, especially as the original notation with its square notes and ligatures give it altogether a lighter appearance. If this melody be performed according to the accepted tempo of the modern Chorale, it will illustrate very clearly the primitive attempts at part-singing of the tenth and eleventh centuries, only without the heaviness of movement and the harshness of discord which, in the time of Adam de la Hale, had, by the introduction of three-part writing and measured notes, been greatly improved. Should it, however, be executed in the time of a moderate waltz (and this the $\frac{3}{2}$ time would seem to invite), repeating it to a supposed number of verses, then it not only sounds more secular and bearable, but gains in significance as a Rondo or Round.

From the treatise of Walter Odington we learn that the Rondo might be written without any text. In such cases it must undoubtedly

writer. This rendering is superior to that of Fétis, and even to Bellerman, and in our opinion is the only interpretation that harmonises with the notation laws of the time.

have been purely an instrumental composition. It is characteristic of the Rondo that it was never regarded as belonging to the forms of the Church, but was always looked upon as a secular composition. The principal theme given to all the voices was either invented by the composer or taken from a popular air. It is very improbable that it was ever one of the Church melodies belonging to the *cantus planus*. Out of the sixteen Rondos of Adam de la Hale in the manuscript of La Vallière, not one is found to contain a fragment of any known sacred tune. The text of each was taken from the folk-songs, one beginning "Robert m'aime," another "Adieu, coment amouretes."

The third form of composition, the Conduit (*conductus*), was of a much less decided character. The old French writers composed *Conduits* in two, three, and four parts. Perotin has left us specimens in each of these kinds. As several are extant, but without the addition of texts, it is to be presumed that they were written for the organ or other instrument in use at the time. The Conduits, like the Rondos, were always of a secular character.*

Returning now to our subject of counterpoint, and the manner in which the old French masters constructed their part-writing, as may be supposed, the simplest form of note against note was the first effort in this direction. Although vastly superior to the old two-part song of the French, yet it is not to be considered as approaching counterpoint in its modern sense. The French masters cared more for mellifluous sound than for flowing characteristic part-writing. The euphonic effect of voices singing together was something so novel and pleasing, that they, together with the whole musical world, were filled with wonder and admiration. Strange to say, however, we shortly meet those thematic progressions and the inversion of two or more parts, now known as "Imitation," "Canon," and "Double Counterpoint," and which, by the multiplicity of forms growing out of a combination of these, are greatly superior to simple counterpoint. And even if we find these higher forms of the strict style but in their infancy, is it not nevertheless astonishing? And yet this is undeniably the fact, although in direct contradiction to what the history of music has hitherto taught.

* An old French tale, "Roman de la Violette," connects the Conduit with the Jongleurs:—

"Cil juleor viellent lais
Et sons, et notes, et conduis."

Such a complete revolution in historical musical facts, especially from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries, imperatively demands that both master and pupil should re-learn. All that had previously been accepted as facts can now only be regarded as such when viewed side by side with the newly-acquired knowledge.

"Imitations" were employed by Perotin in his composition beginning "Posui adjutorium," between the 81st and 92nd bars. This is important, and should be well borne in mind, for "Canon" and "Double Counterpoint" could only have arisen after the root of both—viz., Imitation—had been found. The following is a specimen of Perotin's composition :—*

No. 168.

The musical score for No. 168 consists of three systems of staves. Each system has a treble and a bass staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/2. The first system shows a melodic line in the treble staff with a bracket labeled 'a.' indicating an imitation. The second system shows a similar melodic line in the treble staff with a bracket labeled 'b.' indicating another imitation. The third system shows a melodic line in the treble staff with a bracket labeled 'a.' indicating a third imitation. The bass staff in each system contains a simple harmonic accompaniment.

The bracket and the letters *a* and *b* indicate the "Imitation." The first time it appears is in the fourths of the Organum, but the second time it is in its true imitative form. One must not underrate these primitive attempts at a thematic working of parts. They stand relatively to the

* "L'Art Harmonique," part iii., No. 2, p. 3, "Organum Pur," par Perotin. Two other compositions in the manuscript of Montpellier (fols. 114 and 375) also contain "Imitations." That such examples of the time are not isolated ones is shown by Coussemaker's "Histoire de l'Harmonie au Moyen Age," pl. xxxii.

highly-developed tonal art what the archaic plastic works of Greek sculptors are to the creations of a Phidias and Praxiteles. Without the works of a Perotin and of the advanced masters Odington and Jean de Garlande, no Palestrina and no Sebastian Bach could have existed.

The favourite form of the English people of the thirteenth century was the "Canon," which was known in mediæval Germany under the name of *Rota*. It was the English who invented that *endless* Canon which is so great a favourite with all people even to-day.

Hawkins discovered a Canon, known as the "Sumer is icumen," for six voices—a form infinitely more ingenious than the common Canon. This particular Canon, also called "*Rota*," forms part of the Harleian manuscript (No. 978), now in the British Museum. It is not restricted to the repetition of detached phrases, but the four upper or canonic voices, built on two independent voices, form one complete continued tonal phrase. Dr. Burney relegates this learned composition, on account of the clever writing that it displays, to the fifteenth century. The most modern of investigators, however, William Chappell, incontestably proves that it must be of the thirteenth century,* by reason of two dates—1226 and 1236 A.D.—in the original handwriting of the monks, which had formerly been overlooked. If this is so—and after such testimony it must be accepted as true—then we cannot but regard this celebrated Canon other than as a monument to the learning of the great Englishman, as it is the *only* specimen of so rich a polyphonic composition at such an early period. The only country from which we could have expected such a composition to have emanated was France with its famous Parisian school. Paris was the sole known place possessing a school where grammatical erudition had advanced to so high a point† as to admit the possibility of such a work.‡

Double Counterpoint was undoubtedly known in the old French school as early as the thirteenth century. Jean de Garlande, the celebrated theorist and composer, puts it as far back as the twelfth century, however, but

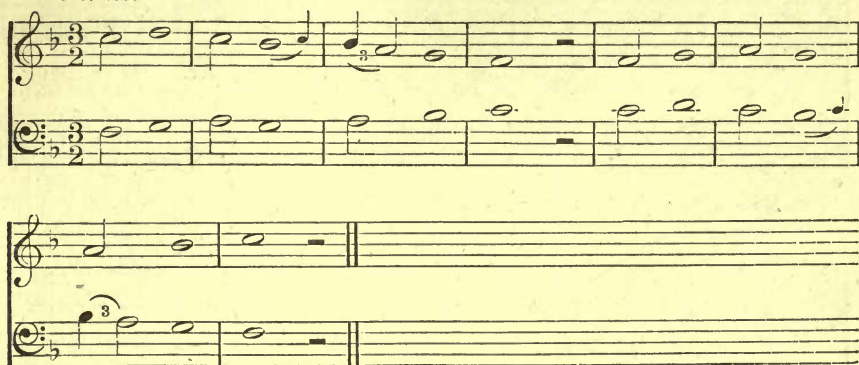
* William Chappell, "Popular Music of the Olden Time."

† The Canon appears in its entirety in Coussemaker's "*L'Art Harmonique*," No. 20, among the deciphered compositions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

‡ I have already given this remarkable Canon *in extenso* in the place where I thought it ought to come, not having seen the author's notice of it in the present paragraph. It is due to him to record this fact by way of apology for my apparent assumption that so celebrated a piece of music had escaped his notice.—F. A. G. O.

unpretentiously alludes to it as the use of the same phrase in different voices at different times; and, lest his meaning should be misunderstood, supplies us with the following example:— *

No. 169.



No. 170.

A - ve

* "Repetitio diverse vocis est idem sonus repetitus in tempore diverso a diversis vocibus"
 ("Scriptorum," etc., vol. i., p. 116).

Ma - ter Do - mi - ni.

A - ve Ma - ter Do - mi -

A - ve Ma - ter Do - mi - ni.

ni.

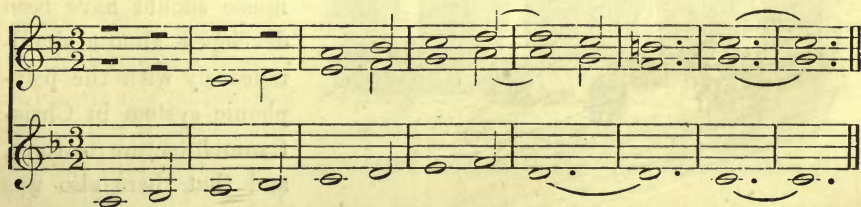
Example 170 is by the learned Walter Odington, who, although an Englishman, must be looked upon as a disciple of the old French school, his compositions unmistakably bearing evidence of the influence of the Parisian masters. Odington's specimen shows astonishing skill in the manipulation of the voices by clever inversions, all evidencing the master-mind. The letters which the author has added will greatly facilitate the reading of the repeated phrases. Respecting the theoretical definition of Double Counterpoint of that period, Odington entirely agrees with Garlande. Adding these two examples to those given by Coussemaker in his "*L'Art Harmonique*," Nos. 19, 20, and 21, taken from the Montpellier codex, all specimens of Double Counterpoint either directly or indirectly traceable to the French school, we may assume with some degree of certainty that Paris was not only the disseminating centre, but also the birthplace of this glorious achievement in the tonal art.

It is therefore clear that those investigators who had formerly relegated

the earliest attempts at Imitation and Canon to the fourteenth century, and Double Counterpoint to the sixteenth, lacked such data as would otherwise have enabled them to form a correct judgment, and which, however excusable then, can now no longer be accepted.*

Returning to the first of our four epochs of the Paris school, it must be said that although we do not agree with Coussemaker in asserting that 1070—1100 was the period during which the school was established, yet those thirty years possess for us a special importance. It would seem as if the *Organum* of Hucbald, which sprang up in the early part of the tenth century in French Flanders, spread first to the city of Paris, and at once taking root there, began to flourish with much vigour. The other parts of Europe for a long while presented but a barren field for the growth of the tonal art. We are inclined to this opinion, first, because Paris was the nearest city of importance to the country of the *Organum*; secondly, because the French *Fauxbourdon* is unquestionably related to the *Organum*; and thirdly, because the *Fauxbourdon* helped to prepare the way for three-part vocal writing, for Canon and Imitation.

This latter may have originated through a desire on the part of the singers to prelude their third-sixths in a melodic manner, possibly using introductory notes similar to the following. This supposition



gains ground when we remember that the discantists of the eleventh century were strongly predisposed to improvisation.† It must be also

* Kicsewetter, in his "History of Music of Western Europe," 1846 A.D., dates the earliest "Canon" from the time of Dufay, 1355—1432 A.D. Mendel, in his article "Dufay," in the "Musical Lexicon," 1873, coincides with this opinion; and Fétis, in his "Biographie Universelle des Musiciens," 1870, in an article entitled "Jakob von Kerle," says, "*Le contrepoint double n'était point encore en usage en 1562 A.D.*"

† The presumption that the *Fauxbourdon* prepared the way for the Canon is considered as very probable by Reiszmann, in his "History of Music," vol. i., p. 144, 1863 A.D.

remembered that during the development of the Organum, Paris possessed a celebrated university which received the praises of Pope Alexander I., who compared it in 1255 A.D. to "A tree of life in an earthly paradise." In 1180 Paris was the centre of European culture.

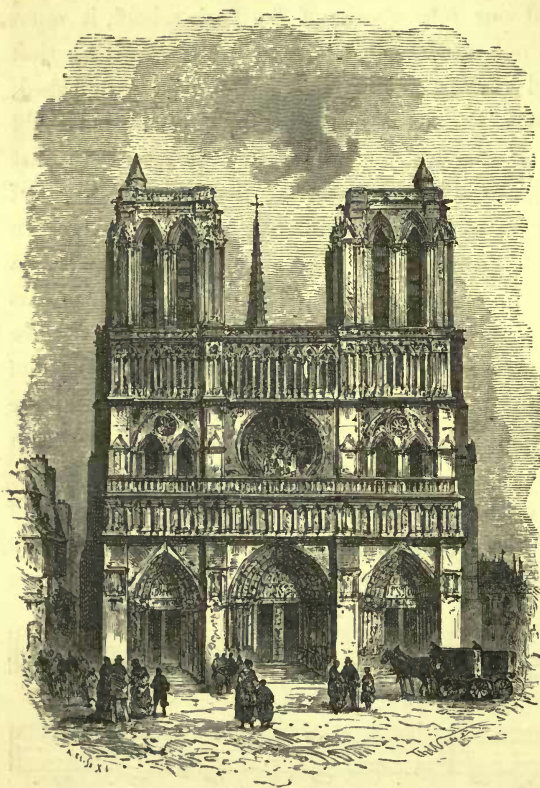


Fig. 171.—The Cathedral of Notre Dame, at Paris.

Numbers of learned theologians and scholastics belonged to this university, and amongst them the renowned Franco Parisiensis. This will explain how within the walls of Paris, where music was so zealously practised, the early attempts of French Flinders at part-singing were prosecuted in Paris with such success. It is indeed very remarkable that in the same city the polyphonic system in Christian music should have been developed almost simultaneously with the polyphonic system in Christian architecture (Gothic), and that there also was laid the foundation of a great national school.

The oldest epoch of the old French school, according to our researches, must be taken from 1100 to 1140 A.D., and, like Coussemaker, we regard it as that during which repeated attempts were made clearly to determine notes and their value. The first composer of note that we meet with at this period is Léonin (Magister Leoninus), surnamed by his countrymen "Optimus Organista," on account of his masterly organ-playing. Notre Dame, one of the oldest specimens of French Gothic, numbers among its

list of organists a whole line of celebrated composers from the twelfth century. Their influence, however, was not confined to Church music, but acted powerfully on the development of the tonal art as a whole. One of the most celebrated was Master Léonin. Author of a treatise on organ-playing, he dealt especially with the manner of performing graduals and antiphonals, noting his compositions according to a method invented by himself. This book contains, as stated by the anonymous writer of a manuscript in the British Museum, a collection of harmonic accompaniments set to original and traditional sacred melodies.

Léonin's learned successor, Pérotin, called by his contemporaries Perotinus Magnus,* was, like his predecessor, both Déchanteur and organist. His abilities as a Déchanteur appear, however, to have been somewhat less than those of Léonin, whilst as an organist he was admittedly the superior. He wrote a great number of works, and many of these, highly lauded by his co-professors as models, have fortunately been preserved. In the Codex of Montpellier there is a *Quadruplum* by Pérotin.† This master is also the known writer of two, three, and four-part *Conduits*, which appear to have gained great celebrity in Paris. He also made several important additions to his predecessor's "Manual for the Organ," and some of his works show attempts at *imitation*. In one of his four-part songs, "Viderunt," in the Montpellier collection, one may trace several pure consecutive fifths, which, like other compositions of the Paris school of this period, show the influence of the Organum and Fauxbourdon. The fact is well worthy of notice that Pérotin endeavoured to soften the harshness of these fifths by a counter-movement of the remaining two parts.

The compositions of this writer and his most prominent successors

* One might search in vain through a number of standard musical histories for any reference either to the name or works of both Léonin and Pérotin. Certainly, in Czerny's "Outlines of Musical History," 1851 A.D., reference is made to Pérotin, and only to Pérotin, and even then he is stated to have flourished a century later than that which is now known to have been the true period of his existence. The well-informed Ambros is, as may be expected, not without some information on this point; but as Coussemaker's work had not been published in full when the second volume of Ambros' "Musical History," treating of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was in course of issue, the information referring to this period is incomplete. Ambros promised us an Appendix on this era, but as it has not yet appeared, we trust it may be published with the posthumous works of this writer, as it is almost certain to contain some interesting data on the subject.

† In the "Anonymous" manuscript now in the British Museum reference is made to a whole collection of Quadruples ascribed to "Perotinus Maximus."

formed part of the standing repertory of the Notre Dame choir, especially during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. They were used chiefly on holy days and at the celebration of such Masses as were instituted out of the bequests of pious persons.*

The second of the four periods of the Paris school, and that during which, according to Coussemaker, great advances in the tonal art were made, dates from 1140 to 1170 A.D.† The Church song books of Pérotin were used up to the time of Robert de Sabillon, choirmaster of Notre Dame, the method of chanting prescribed therein being more concise and easy than that of any of his predecessors. Robert de Sabillon obtained celebrity in his time as a distinguished *Déchanteur*.‡ He was succeeded by Pierre de la Croix, a master who, on account of the improved system of notation which he introduced, received the well-merited title of *Optimus Notator*.§

We now come to Jean de Garlande, classed by Coussemaker with the didactic masters of his time. He wrote a profound treatise on Mensural music, a work which exhibits a considerable improvement in musical theory. During this period the *Quadruplum* form was but rarely used in vocal compositions, being principally employed in instrumental music. Still it must not be forgotten that the *Quadrupla* in the Montpellier manuscript were written for the voice.

We have already referred to a passage in the treatise of Jean de Garlande as a proof of the existence of Double Counterpoint in the twelfth century, and it will be not less important to note that Jean de Garlande and another old French writer of this time, Aristote, distinguished between three kinds of dissonances, viz., perfect, imperfect, and middle.||

* In reference to the method of tuition adopted by Léonin and Pérotin and other contemporary masters, Coussemaker says:—"La méthode en usage pendant cette période a été, selon toute vraisemblabilité, celle que Jérôme de Moravie a insérée dans son traité sous le titre de 'Doctrina vulgaire' (doctrina vulgaris)" ("L'Art Harmonique," &c., p. 40).

† This period may be taken to agree with that of Coussemaker, who says:—"L'époque où vécut Robert de Sabillon et Jean de Garlande doit se placer vers le milieu du XII^e siècle" ("L'Art Harmonique," p. 42).

‡ Fuller information concerning Sabillon is to be found in Coussemaker's "*Scriptorum de musica mediæ ævi nova series*," vol. i., p. 344.

§ The notes used by the old French school were square, the same as those drawn in our coloured illustration of "the singing monks" of the thirteenth century. They were used in conjunction with our present five-lined staves.

|| Under the head of *perfect* dissonances, Jean de Garlande mentions the minor second, the

Jean de Garlande also gained celebrity as a composer. Several fragments still extant bearing his name exhibit at the same time the learned theorist and the practical musician, so that in his lectures and writings on the theory of music he had no need, like his brother musicians, to seek for examples from the works of other men, but supplied the required illustrations by specimens from his own compositions. One of these examples, written in Double Counterpoint, we have already given (see No. 169*).

The third epoch of the old French school, 1170—1230 A.D., comprising as it does the names of the older and younger Franco, is justly described by Coussemaker as “la période franconienne.”†

We have before pointed to the curious fact that without exception all the histories of music that have hitherto appeared have treated of one Franco only. It is now, however, beyond contention that there were two celebrated masters of this name.‡ The elder Franco, *i.e.*, Franco of Paris,

tritone, and the major seventh, whilst Aristote gives only two—the major second and third. The *imperfect* dissonances, according to Garlande, were the major sixth and minor seventh, whilst Aristote names the minor and major sixths. Under *middle* dissonances Garlande includes the major second and minor sixth, Aristote inserting the major third and the minor second, which, considering the euphony of the one and the cacophony of the other, is astonishing. If we compare the classification of the two masters, that of Jean de Garlande will be found to be by far the more preferable. I cannot agree, therefore, with Coussemaker when he says that “les classifications de Garlande sont vagues et arbitraires. On n'aperçoit là ni principe ni base scientifique qui y aient servi de fondement.” Although the science of the old French master was not founded on any well-conceived basis, it would appear, nevertheless, that he did not, like the Greeks, determine on any interval by mathematical ratio only, but that he also relied upon the judgment of the ear. Thus we find that, unlike his predecessors, he did not regard the major third as an imperfect dissonance, but as a consonant interval. Referring to Aristote, we must briefly notice that he was the author of an important treatise on the tonal art in which he inserted nine of his original composition. “Aristote,” however, is generally considered to be the pseudonym of a writer who lived about the year 1180 A.D.

* The influence of Garlande upon the music of the period in which he lived, an era that includes the names of Sabillon and Pierre de la Croix, was so great that Coussemaker speaks of that time as “la période où Jean de Garlande a écrit son traité sur la musique mesurée” (“L'Art Harmonique,” p. 40).

† These dates are supported by well-authenticated information taken from Fétis, Coussemaker, Ambros, and others. According to these authorities, the older Franco flourished about the last thirty-five years of the twelfth century; the younger Franco, according to Coussemaker, not before the end of the same century; whilst Ambros dates him about the beginning of the thirteenth century; and Jérôme de Moravie, the third master of the Franconian period, according to Coussemaker, at the early part or first third of the thirteenth century, and according to Ambros up to the middle of the thirteenth century.

‡ To show how, even until very lately, the notion of two Francos was disregarded, I will

was called by his contemporaries Franco Primus, in order to distinguish him from the younger Franco.*

By a remarkable coincidence, both masters had not only the same name, but were almost of the same period.† And, what is even more important, both Francos distinguished themselves by the additions and improvements to the laws of Mensural music, which exercised a reforming influence on the tonal art of their period. Under such circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the two Francos were confounded the one with the other, and still more so when we remember that the knowledge of historical facts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was of so vague a character that even in the fifteenth century there existed but little information concerning the two previous centuries.‡ Although the "Anonymous" of the British Museum does not state the nationality of Franco Primus, yet, from the existence of several specimens taken from the celebrated treatise "*Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*," bearing the signature Franco Parisiensis, we should judge him to have been a Frenchman. Forkel gives one of these specimens in his general "History of Music," which bears the above name. The Abbé Gerbert, in his preface to the third part of "*Scriptores de Musica*," speaks of a manuscript in the Ambrosian library at Milan bearing the signature of Franco Parisiensis.|| One must, therefore, accept Paris as the birthplace of the elder Franco, and all the more so, because the author of the world-renowned "*Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*" could only have been sur-

quote a passage from a work by Ambros, published at Breslau in 1864 A.D., wherein he says, "I do not think it at all necessary to assume the existence of two Francos" ("*History of Music*," vol. ii., p. 360).

* The credit of being the first to point out the existence of two Francos of different nations and periods belongs to the already referred to "Anonymous" of the British Museum:—"Il appelle l'un Franco primus et l'autre Franco de Colonia" ("*L'Art Harmonique*," p. 171).

† Franco of Paris could scarcely have flourished more than twenty—or at the outside thirty—years earlier than his namesake of Cologne.

‡ As an illustration of this I would instance the case of Jean de Muris, who, although living in the fourteenth century, knew of the existence of only one Franco;—"C'est de Francon de Cologne que parle Jean de Muris, qui ne semble pas avoir connu l'autre" ("*L'Art Harmonique*," p. 174).

|| Robert de Handlo, Jean Hauboy, and Jean Balloce all refer to a treatise written by a Franco, but without any reference to the nationality of the author. It was, however, understood to refer to Franco of Cologne. But on a close examination of the text of this treatise, the assumption that its author was the Franco of Cologne cannot in any way be maintained, and we are driven to the conclusion that the work must have emanated from a Franco other than that of Cologne.

named Primus and Parisiensis in order to have distinguished him from his namesake of Cologne.

Both Francos wrote several part-songs. From a treatise of the elder Franco on the Mensural song, it is evident that he was the author of the method known as the *Doctrine franconienne*, a method that obtained the favour of all musicians during the latter part of the twelfth century. A comparison of the treatise "*Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*" with a similar treatise written by the Cologne Franco is found to be very instructive, as it enables us to form a just appreciation of the efforts of each in the development and dissemination of the reformed Mensural song. The honour of originating the improved method of the Mensural song belongs to the Parisian Franco. He was also the first music teacher who introduced into the choir of Notre Dame a perfected system of rules and traditions, and he further extended the knowledge of the different values of notes. Remembering now that Franco of Cologne flourished at a time subsequent to the Parisian master, we can only regard him as a disciple, though a very important one, of the Paris school. The celebrated "Doctor," as Jean de Muris calls the Cologne Franco, was not only the propounder of theoretical rules, but also a writer, the examples given in his treatise being taken from his own compositions. Some fragments of his works were, according to Muris, performed as late as the fourteenth century in Paris, a period nearly two hundred years after the first appearance of the master upon the scene. Thus the second Franco retains his distinguished reputation, although for the future a part of the honour which formerly had been his must be conceded to his predecessor.

The third and last of the masters of "la période franconienne" which we shall notice was Jérôme de Moravie, or Hieronymus de Moravia. A native of Moravia, in Austria, he quitted his country for some unexplained cause to seek an asylum in the French capital, where he lived until the end of his life. This may be assumed from his entering the Dominican monastery of S. Jacques, and from the many years during which he exercised the calling of a music master in Paris. For these and other reasons I am inclined to regard Jérôme de Moravie as representing the old French school more than Odington and Franco de Colonia, especially as he so thoroughly adopted the method of Franco Primus, and explained it in his treatise "*De Cantus Vulgaris Positio*." The chapter in this work treating of the movement of

counterparts, and the strict rules laid down in reference thereto, is remarkable, elucidating and exemplifying the rules, as it does, by numerous specimens of notation. The work closes with the following sage advice addressed to his pupils:—"If you have studied and well digested all these rules, then by careful application you may easily acquire the whole art of the 'discantist.'" And, truly, the old master was right, and that not for his own time only, but also for the present, for the rules laid down by him are almost identical with those of our own day.*

The fourth period of the old French school, although disregarded by Coussemaker, I date from the year 1230 to 1370 A.D.† In its general character this era has been generally regarded as the period of the *musica nova* represented by Philippe de Vitry, Jean de Muris, and Guillaume de Machaut. They were looked upon by their contemporaries as the exponents of the *ars nova* in contradistinction to the Franconian doctrine, which was called *ars antiqua*. One of the essential points of difference between the two was the introduction of a number of musical signs into the *ars nova*,

* The statement of Quetif and Echard in their "Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum," vol. i., p. 159, that Jérôme flourished about the middle of the thirteenth century—an opinion which doubtlessly led Dommer to speak of him as existing in 1260 A.D.—seems less probable than that of Coussemaker, that his works followed so closely upon those of Franco of Cologne that we may regard them as contemporaries ("L'Art Harmonique," p. 159).

† Although this period is not recognised by Coussemaker as belonging to the old French school, I yet find myself to a certain extent in harmony with that learned historian. In his pamphlet, "Les Harmonistes du Quatorzième Siècle," he says, "La France, qui avait en une prépondérance marquée dès l'origine de la musique harmonique, semble l'avoir conservée en grande partie pendant le XIV^e siècle," and names almost the same men of that time which we have included in our fourth period. But the idea of a school with its attendant train of masters and pupils is never recognised by Coussemaker, and, in order to prevent future erroneous assumptions, I specially draw attention to the point here. Coussemaker speaks of an "école gallo-belge," which cannot by any manner of means be brought into relation with the four periods into which he divides the harmonists of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. If one accepts, as I do, that the school to which Léonin, Pérotin, Robert de Sabillon, the elder Franco, and Jérôme de Moravie belonged, was, on account of their connection with the Sorbonne and the cathedral of Notre Dame, exclusively a French one, then, as it is equally a well-ascertained fact that Guillaume de Machaut and Jean de Muris were both connected with the Sorbonne and Notre Dame, and also that they lived in the city of Paris, and that their works both theoretical and practical were based on the principles of the Parisian school, we must look upon them as belonging to the old French school also. And even Jean de Garland, Pierre de la Croix, and Philippe de Vitry must be numbered with the masters of this school—firstly, as they were Frenchmen by birth, although not living entirely in Paris; and, secondly, because their works show a distinct leaning towards Paris.

which greatly facilitated a freer movement of polyphonic parts. To Philippe, Bishop of Meaux (born 1270 A.D. at Vitry, near Calais, died 1330 A.D.), is ascribed the introduction of *Minima*, i.e., the division of the semibreve into two minims, and also the use of the semiminima, or crotchet. He was both theorist and composer, and amongst the most celebrated of his manuscripts are the "*Ars Contrapuncti Magistri Philippi de Vitriaco*," now in the monastery of the Oratorio in Rome; the "*Ars Nova*," in the Vatican; and the "*Ars Compositionis de Motetis, compilata a Philippo de Vitry, magistro in musica*."

Not less important as a composer was Jean de Muris, of Normandy (1300—1370 A.D.). Jean de Meurs, as his countrymen called him, was, in 1330 A.D., made Doctor of the Sorbonne, and later Deacon and Canon, and he seems to have been as well versed in philosophy and mathematics as he was learned in musical theory and composition. To him we are indebted for the first clear definition of *Discantus*,* and also for the information that in his time three kinds of tempi were in use, viz., Lively, Moderate, and Slow, which might be likened unto our Allegro, Andante, and Adagio. It is also De Muris who states what must be considered an important fact in the history of the art of music, that Pierre de la Croix, author of a number of valuable compositions, adopted the practice of setting against the breve sometimes four, six, seven, and even nine semibreves.† The practice of embroidering by discant, which formerly had done service, degenerated to such an extent in the time of Muris, that discantists unacquainted with theory indulged in the most inappropriate variations and ornaments. John Cotton compared them to revellers, "who, reaching home safely, cannot tell how or by what way they came." And it is not less refreshing to notice with what exuberant anger Jean de Muris addresses the vitiators of pure art:—"You throw tones by chance like boys throwing stones, scarcely one in a hundred hitting the mark, and instead of giving

* He says: "In principio, in discantu non erant nisi duo cantus, ut ille qui tenor dicitur, et alius qui supra tenorem decantatur, qui vocatur discantus" ("*Speculum Musicae*," book vii., cap. 3, now in the Bibliothèque at Paris).

† Several of these examples are given by Muris, and it is entirely owing to these that we are enabled to fix certain compositions in the Montpellier manuscript as being those of La Croix. Amongst the many manuscripts of La Croix now in the Paris Library, we may mention "*Tractatus de Musica*," "*De Numeris, qui Musicas Retinent Consonantias*," "*Ars Discantus*," and, finally, the voluminous work to which reference has already been made, "*Speculum Musicae*."

pleasure you cause anger and ill-humour. Oh, what gross barbarism!" This is well worthy of notice, as it shows us that those masters who, through the primitive state of their art, had in their own music so much that was harsh and unrefined, instinctively possessed a fine sense of feeling, and that they carefully tended the germs of their beloved art which was one day to bloom into so magnificent a flower.

The third prominent master of the fourth and last period of the old French school was Guillaume de Machaut (also Machault and Machau), born at Rethel, in the province of Champagne, 1284 A.D., and who we know was still living in Paris in 1369 A.D. He was both poet and musician. In 1301 A.D. he entered the service of Jeanne, Queen of Navarre, wife of Philippe le Beau. In 1316 he became secretary to Johanns von Lützelburg, King of Bohemia, and in 1346 private secretary to John of France. He was the composer of the celebrated Mass,* known as the Coronation Mass, which was written by Machaut for the coronation of Charles V., successor to John of France. This historical work is only accepted by Kieseletter as the rude essay of an isolated naturalist. I, however, trace in it the germs of that style to which belong the Masses of Josquin des Près, and even those of Gombert and Lassus, although, of course, the latter were the expression of a much higher state of artistic perfection. Thanks to Coussemaker's important discoveries, we no longer regard Machaut as an "isolated naturalist," but as the consummation of a school which had existed for three hundred years, and therefore the last master of the old French school.

It must be here remarked that the development of polyphony, which had been so rapid from the twelfth to the middle of the fourteenth centuries, considerably slackened its pace after that time, not only in France but elsewhere. This is clearly proved by the works of the Frenchman Firmin Caron, the Belgian Dufay, Hobrecht and Willaert of the Netherlands, and even Palestrina, whose part-writing, owing to the gradually lessened use of Double Counterpoint, was simpler and less artificial than that of Jean de Garlande and Walter Odington. The Netherland and Italian composers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries show a greater predilection for chords, and especially the triad, than their French predecessors.

If we ask why this skilful membering of parts fell into disuse already

* Deciphered by Perne.

before the fourteenth century, at the same time that the polyphonic in architecture was rapidly developing into a state of perfection, the answer will be that only in the comparative age of the two arts can we seek for any satisfactory explanation.

As far as the author is aware he was the first, when making a comparative analogy of the historical development of the arts, to draw attention, in his "*Tonkunst in des Culturgeschichte*," to the relative age of music and architecture. The importance of this will be at once apparent on comparing the state of the two arts in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Paris. We see two arts developing themselves from richly-endowed bases, each with its several independent and opposing elements, but all united into one organic whole. The younger art, music, was unequal to the task of generating a polyphony, and received its strongest impetus from its elder sister, architecture. The contact being a local one, *i.e.*, occurring in the same city, Paris, was all the more fruitful, and still more so in that it occurred even in the same cathedral, Notre Dame. And Paris was the most favourable ground on which such a development could take place, and the French, with their national love of centralisation, were the most fitted to combine into a united whole the various component parts of an art. The musical art in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was like the string of an instrument that vibrates by sympathy with the action of a more powerful neighbouring string. It was too young to act for itself, or help in any polyphonic development. It was led and acted upon entirely by architecture. This will show why the old French masters knew comparatively so little of polyphony, and why for so many years the art of the contrapuntist remained in a dormant state. Still they threw out sufficient germs to enable the masters who came after them to build up that grand system of amalgamation of parts which is brought to such perfection now-a-days. Thus it was that a culminating point in the older art was reached in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris and the cathedral of Cologne, which was only attained in the younger art in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by Lotti and Sebastian Bach, five centuries after the first seeds were sown by the old French contrapuntists.*

* Another example of a young art influenced by an older one is that of painting, the art forms of which are based entirely on those of the older art of sculpture. Both arts were influenced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by the then predominating style

But the specimens of imitative canon music of the church choirs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which are still extant show that the musicians of those days were not altogether insensible to the utility of the contrapuntal principles of the Parisian school; and the first master to whom belongs the honour of having collected and arranged in a very intellectual manner those principles which seemed likely to die away, and which, as far as Double Counterpoint was concerned, actually did cease to exist for a couple of centuries, was Dufay (1350—1432 A.D.), a native of Chimay, Hennegau. From these he evolved a method which placed him at the head of the Gallo-Belgic school, an institution which was the immediate predecessor of the far-famed Netherland school. Before entering upon a dissertation on this, however, it will be very necessary to cursorily glance at the various phases which music underwent during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in Germany, France, and Italy.

In Paris and the lands lying to the north-east of the French capital, the deep earnestness of the composers vented itself in Church music of a severe character, wherein might be traced the germs of the grand vocal style of the future. In Italy, curiously enough, instrumental music gained the greater number of adherents, special attention being devoted to this branch. This bent cannot be ascribed to the influence of the Troubadours, as we know that they never flourished to the same extent in Italy as the Minnesingers did in Germany, or the Trouvères in France. It can only be explained by the fact that all southern nations, and especially the Italians, loved sound for the mere sensuous effect that it produced, and hence the development of the mechanism of musical instruments received a large share of their attention. It was not only the people, but also the intellectual classes that threw themselves with ardour into the hitherto unknown joy experienced by concerted playing on various instruments. Sometimes

of Gothic architecture, the period, it will be remembered, when statues and pictures of saints were immoderately and disproportionately long. Both plastic and painting were soon left behind by the restless architecture ever striving upwards. Nor did they, until a couple of centuries later, acquire that freedom and independent expression which we find in Giotto, Orcagna, Luca Signorelli, and others of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In Paris, 1150 A.D., the Gothic style was adopted for buildings, whereas elsewhere the Romanesque was in the ascendant. In painting an approximately high style and technique was only attained in Paris in the fourteenth century. The author hopes to deal with this more fully when completing his work, "*Die Tonkunst in der Culturgeschichte.*"

harps and psalteries were used in accompanying a singer, and sometimes it was the simultaneous sounding of horns and flutes and instruments played with the bow that charmed the auditors. Among the educated classes, however, this newly-awakened pleasure assumed a more ideal character.

This will be at once apparent by a glance at our illustration, "*Il sogno della vita*," copied from the celebrated mural painting of Orcagna of the fourteenth century called "*The Triumph of Death*."* Our illustration is taken from the Florentine's masterpiece, now in the Campo Santo at Pisa. Orcagna flourished from 1329—1389 A.D., and was therefore a contemporary of Jean de Muris and Guillaume de Machaut. That section of Orcagna's work from which our group is taken bears the inscription "*The Dream of Life*." It contains the quietest and most delicately-conceived figures of the whole painting, all depicted with a Dante-like grandeur and dramatic effect. The soft dreamy mood that suffuses the whole would seem to have been intended by the artist to indicate the effect music had on the intellectual class of that time.

On the right we see a nobleman dressed in the costume of the fourteenth century, and wearing a garland on his brow, playing a *Gigua*, which strongly reminds one of the *Rote*, or *Crwth*. He is accompanied by a lady, sitting in the middle of the group, who plays on a stringed instrument of the psaltery kind.† As the golden-haired beauty plays with both hands simultaneously, her accompaniment must have consisted of chords, which therefore would give an harmonic basis to the melody of the *Gigua* performer. To judge from the expression of the hearers, how soft and sweet, and withal solemn and mysterious, must this melody have been. All appear to be absorbed in rapt attention by the violin-playing; even the lady who accompanies leans her head forward apparently to listen the more attentively, and desiring only to find a fitting accompaniment to the soloist. The pensive maiden between the performers appears lost in dreamy wonderment. Two others, to the left of the solo player, seem to be united by

* We know very well that Crowe and Cavalcaselle deny that Orcagna could ever have painted such a work, but, until this has been positively proved to our satisfaction, we cannot admit it as that of either Lorenzetti or Daddi, as it is unquestionably the work of a master-hand.

† There can be no doubt that this is not a harp, as the resonance-box is provided with ventages, and the strings run in threes.

that mutual bond of sympathy which impels them to listen with intense earnestness.*

It is characteristic of Orcagna's painting, and very pertinent to our contention, that in the group to the left of our illustration the artist has portrayed two lovers who walk dreamily along, followed by two angels of Death bearing inverted torches, signifying thereby that they are the next victims of the merciless reaper. In the next group, and that the one which we have brought before our readers, Death is altogether absent, the lovers of art appearing to be shielded from all evil by the gentle powers which sweet music has woven around them. But, whatever may be the true interpretation of this celebrated work, it is a fact that there are few paintings extant which, like Orcagna's "Dream of Life," so vividly bring to our minds how great was the influence which the Christian tonal art, or, as it has not been inaptly termed, "musical mood," exercised over the feelings of the people of the fourteenth century. Even the soft dreamy atmosphere which the artist has infused into his drawing, combined with the hazy, green, laurel background, the delicately-tinted cheeks, the plaited golden auburn hair of the women—a favourite practice of painters even up to the time

* Hermann Hettner believes our illustration to be an allegorical representation of the Song of Solomon, as explained by St. Thomas Aquinas, the greatest scholar of the Middle Ages (Hettner's "Italian Studies," Brunswick, 1879). The garden, which in the Song is compared to the Church, is made to represent the Bride of Christ, and our group those who, like King David, have overcome sin by sweet harmony. But however gratifying such a symbolical explanation may be, I cannot accept it as the only possible one. It seems to me rather to represent the cheerful charm of life's joys characteristic of the time of Boccaccio, which is also that of Orcagna. At that period the pleasure experienced by concerted playing on instruments took firm hold of the educated and wealthy classes; and might not the artist have intended to convey that even amongst those joys of the purest kind the "dream of life" might be passed, and yet Death with his iron grasp pitilessly claims his victims, and hurries them before the Judge of all? Such, at least, would seem to be the true interpretation, to judge from the figure of Death, depicted in the original painting in the group next to that of our drawing, who, with weapon on high, is ready to strike his victims. It is also in keeping with the tone that pervades the "*Media vita in morte sumus*," and teaches that those who when in the enjoyment of divine harmony are swept away by Death are nearer to their God and his benignant love than those who are stricken down in the midst of their sins. Such explanation, too, is borne out when we remember that the practice of music in the cloisters was regarded as one of the means by which evil was guarded against. And, indeed, it seems to me that this can be the only true interpretation, as Orcagna has depicted souls being carried heavenward, and further to the left of the spectator he shows us open coffins with their mouldering dead, and on the right the symbol of regenerated life in a beautiful garden, justifying the title of our fragment "*Il sogno della vita*."

of Titian and Veronese—and the harmonic combination of colour depicted in the flowing robes, all unite to gently lead us into a kind of musical reverie.

Apart from all speculations as to the allegorical or real meaning of Orcagna's painting, it at least possesses for us one great merit, in that it clearly shows that the exercise of concerted music in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was not the exclusive practice of musicians. Neither was the tonal art cultivated only for the service of the Church, and what is also of importance, no longer did art-music remain antagonistic to, and unconnected with, the music made by the people. The higher classes took an active interest in and practised music for its own intrinsic worth. Music became the object of an æsthetical enjoyment, and, as our drawing shows us, served to bring together sympathetic souls whose delight was the concerted practice of the tonal art.

In the following chapters we shall discuss the development of the art of music amongst the people, showing how, after it had once rooted itself amongst them, it ever went forward. Our subsequent investigations will not only bring to notice what the tonal art owes to the untiring energy of its devoted disciples, but will also show how music ceased to be the exclusive property of the musician, and became fused into the every-day life of all classes of people, and more especially of the dilettanti circles of wealthy citizens, finally forcing its way as a powerful element in that civilisation wherein it holds so prominent a place to-day.

CHAPTER X.

THE NETHERLANDERS FROM THE TIME OF OKEGHEM TO ROLAND DE LATTRE.

ALTHOUGH in our dissertation on the old French school we referred to a number of masters, yet that galaxy of lights was not so great as to defy counting: But with the growth of so many schools, all the offshoots of the old French, this becomes impossible, and we involuntarily recall the words of Göthe when he exclaimed, on treading Italian soil for the first time: "At first one hears but of the greatest artists, and we are content with

their names, but on coming nearer our own time, and approaching as it were the starry firmament of masters, and lights of the second and third degree are clearly discernible, one is filled with the thought that truly the art-world is rich indeed."

And so may we, when entering upon an examination of the various conservatoires and masters that have grown out of the old French school, re-echo the words of the great German poet, and still more so when we see that the more prominent of the crowd of masters each attract a constellation of their own. We shall therefore endeavour to make our explanation as clear as possible by grouping our tone-poets according to their epoch and nationality.

As we are dealing with the outgrowth of the tonal art from the Parisian school, those masters will naturally interest us most who either studied in Paris or who were the immediate disciples of Parisian contrapuntists; and it will be interesting to note how cosmopolitan were these disciples, embracing as they did pupils from Italy, the Netherlands, Germany, England, and even in some instances natives of Spain and Portugal. The most important of these offshoots was the school which established itself in the north-east of France and the adjacent countries, viz., Hennegau and Flanders—curiously, therefore, in the same direction as that from which the parent school received its first impulse two hundred and fifty years before.

It will now be evident why we could not before deal exclusively with the Netherland school, as the group of masters that formed the germ of that school all came either directly or indirectly from Paris, and it was therefore necessary that we should first treat of the parent institution. In the provinces of Hennegau and Flanders, inhabited by both French and Low Germans, there grew up a school which it has been necessary to allude to before as the Gallo-Belgic school. The workings of this conservatoire formed the mental connecting link between France and the Netherlands. The Gallo-Belgic school was the forerunner of the Netherland institution, and in the same way that it had been the means of transmitting the doctrines of the Paris school, so now its own laws exercised a beneficial influence on the very school that had called it into existence, its power being felt chiefly in Picardy, Artois, and still further south in Burgundy.

In the last chapter we spoke of Dufay as the most prominent master of the Gallo-Belgic school. He is distinctly, however, not to be regarded as its founder, but merely as its most prominent master. In order, therefore, to become thoroughly acquainted with the use and progress of the school, we must go back some decades and find out what it was that really made it a musical high academy for all nations. The school, it will be remembered, achieved its greatest successes between 1360 and 1460 A.D., during the greater part of which time the city of Tournay was the centre whence the knowledge of musical lore was disseminated. It was there that the original studies of the student began, and after they were completed and he had gone forth into the world as a master, it was from there that he always received his best impulses. It is to be regretted that the names of the earliest of its masters are wanting, but up to the fourteenth century they were overshadowed by the fame of the Paris masters. Yet, in the celebrated Mass of Tournay, we possess an invaluable monument to the musical genius of the Gallo-Belgic masters prior to the time of Dufay. Naturally, however, the Mass, written about the end of the thirteenth century, shows the same primitive attempts at polyphonic writing which characterise the works of Pérotin and Jean de Garlande. It is historically important in that it makes us acquainted with the intermediate attempts at polyphonic writing, and, like the specimens of the French school a century earlier, shows what advances had been made on the earliest barbaric attempts at part-writing. It is not less interesting also in showing to what a comparative state of perfection the vocal art had been carried by the trained choristers of Tournay Cathedral. The Mass is written in three parts, the tenor in the middle, with the triplum above as the discant, and the bass underneath as the motetus. The "Kyrie" has a measured earnestness, whilst the discant of the "Gloria" is loaded with heavy *floriture*, which, notwithstanding their inappropriateness, were regarded as artistic beauties (*pulchritudines*).*

* As a rule, the discant moved in parallels (*motus rectus*) of fourths or fifths with either the tenor or motetus, the third voice having a contrary movement, called *motus contrarius*. More detailed information is to be found in "Messe du XIII. Siècle, traduite en notation moderne, et précédée d'une introduction, par E. de Coussemaker. Paris, Didron; Lille, L'Quarré. 1861." It is surprising how little this interesting and important work is known to investigators; indeed, the scanty attention generally that has been bestowed upon the labours of the Flemish savant has more than once filled us with astonishment; even where

The first name of any importance that we meet with in the Gallo-Belgic school is that of H. de Zeelandia,* the immediate precursor of Dufay. Although the exact date of his birth and death is not known, yet it is well authenticated that he flourished during the period which elapsed between the writing of the Mass of Tournay (1330 A.D.) and the birth of Dufay (1360 A.D.). The chief merit of Zeelandia seems to have been his efforts to abolish the unpleasant perfect consonances of the Greeks, especially the tedious and monotonous fourths, fifths, and octaves. The practice of using consecutive fourths, fifths, and octaves had been gradually getting less and less, and with Zeelandia it almost entirely disappeared. All his writings evince an endeavour to substitute for these unpleasant and harsh-sounding intervals the hitherto sparingly-used thirds and sixths, so that his part-writing assumes a mellifluous and euphonic character which one might in vain look for in the works of earlier masters, and he thus proves himself a worthy forerunner of Dufay. Zeelandia, or Zeeland, was, as his name would indicate, a native of Flanders, studying theory in the Gallo-Belgic school. From a treatise on music bearing his name we gather that he must have attained some celebrity as a teacher and composer of four-part chansons. In the melodies of his chansons we do not find the theme, as with Dufay, given to the tenor, but to the highest voice, *i.e.*, the treble. The text of his songs was mostly Flemish, the two principal of which being "Een Meysken dat de werbe gaet," and "Ich sach den May net Blömen naen."

As between Zeelandia and Dufay no master of any note appeared on

reference has been made to Coussemaker, it has been of a nature so superficial as to lead to erroneous deductions. We would cite as an example the "History of Music" by A. von Dommer, the second edition of which was published but three years ago. Although this writer does refer to the Parisian Franco, yet no information whatever is given as to his writings or labours; and again, in his notice on "L'Art Harmonique," he makes the Cologne Franco stand out as the one figure overshadowing all others (see page 66 of Dommer's work), whilst in Coussemaker's work we know that only just so much praise was awarded him as was his due, almost equal credit being given to the Parisian Franco, to whom indeed belongs the honour of having initiated what the other carried on. A work of such pretensions and of so recent a date as Dommer's, that deals with the question of the existence of the two Francos in a manner as scant as it is unreliable, cannot but be regarded as supporting the assertion we made some time since, that modern musical historians show a surprising absence of information on the subject of two Francos, either omitting all reference to the one or at most barely mentioning the other.

* It is believed that Zeelandia died about the year 1370 A.D.

the scene, we will at once proceed to speak of the latter far-famed musician, briefly referring, however, first to the debatable question which cropped up a short time ago, as to whether there have existed two Dufays, and, if so, was the elder Dufay but a tenor-singer at St. Peter's, Rome, who died 1432 A.D., and the younger Dufay, the celebrated theorist and composer of whom we know so much, and who is said to have died 1474 A.D.?

After exhaustive investigation and careful research, we are prepared to deny entirely the existence of the younger Dufay, notwithstanding that it is so positively insisted on by Arnold.* When a writer introduces subject-matter which he knows will cause much controversy, he should surely fortify himself with some reliable data calculated to satisfy the very first questions which are sure to be addressed to him. But Arnold can give neither the time and place of birth nor death of the celebrated Dufay. Certainly, Baini refers to an elder Dufay, who, he says, died and was buried in Rome; but if such information is forthcoming concerning a master who, according to Arnold, merely attained notoriety because he bore the name of the younger musician, surely we should have been supplied with some authentic data as to the place of death, &c., of one so highly extolled as the younger Dufay. Arnold conjectures that he died in Belgium; but if this were so the place of his death would have become celebrated, and the name of Dufay, like that of Josquin des Près, a name of far minor import, would either have been chronicled in the historical records of the musical theorists, or the place of his interment have become as well known as that of some of our great poets. But proofs may be adduced to prove the non-existence of Arnold's younger Dufay, which ought to be sufficient to finally set the matter at rest. In determining the period during which a great musical writer existed, of whom little information is forthcoming, the painstaking investigator minutely gauges the exact state of the art of the supposed era, carefully noting all the peculiar characteristics of the master, his relative standing amongst his contemporaries, and the attitude of foreign masters towards him. Now, had Dufay lived, as Arnold thinks is probable, up to 1474 A.D., Antoine Busnois, a compatriot of Dufay, who died 1480 A.D., would therefore have been his immediate contemporary,

* See Arnold's dissertation on the Lochheimer Song-book, which appeared in "Chrysander's Year-Book," vol. ii., Leipzig, 1867.

and, as a natural deduction, the style of their writings would have been similar, although, of course, bearing the impress of the masters' individuality. But Busnois' compositions show such a marked advance both in style and expression on those of Dufay that it is impossible to regard them as having flourished during the same period. And Arnold's conjecture is even more irrational when we remember that we have it authentically stated that Dufay was regarded by all his contemporaries as the greatest composer of his time. This fact alone would be sufficient to prove that the leader of the Gallo-Belgic school could not have lived at so late a period as 1474 A.D.* Again, in the *Codex Parisiensis* there is a May song† written in three parts, and dedicated to "Carissime Dufay." The characters used are those of the old black notation of the period 1350—1399 A.D.; and we would ask, is it probable that a song, dedicated to a master who it is asserted lived up to 1474, would have been written in the obsolete notation of the previous century, knowing as we do that the open-note notation superseded the filled-up black notes as early as the year 1400, or, according to Ambros, in 1370 A.D.? ("History of Music," vol. ii., p. 426). Finally, the investigations of such important men as Fétis and Coussemaker, who fix Dufay's existence respectively from 1350—1432 A.D. and 1355—1435 A.D., must be regarded with some respect, because, being compatriots of the old Belgian master, their labour was one of love, enabling them to produce an amount of documentary evidence and to quote a number of authorities far in excess of any other writer, rendering their whole treatment of Dufay and his time more complete and exhaustive than that of any known historian. We therefore can only regard one Dufay as having existed, and we fix his time between the middle of the fourteenth century and the early part of the fifteenth century.‡

* Ambros in 1868 strongly opposed Arnold's assertions as to the existence of a younger Dufay. This learned historian also shows how faulty Arnold was in other respects, in stating the Flemish master Ducis to have been a German, which Ambros, by a quantity of documentary evidence, proves to be entirely erroneous. (See Ambros' "History of Music," vol. iii., 296—302.)

† "Ce mois de May," reprinted by Kiesewetter from the Paris Codex.

‡ Neither the purpose nor scope of this work would admit of any lengthy refutation of Arnold's assertions about Dufay and his work. But, seeing that such an authority as Dommer has adopted Arnold's fallacious statements, retaining them even in the second edition of his "History of Music," published as late as 1878 A.D., I feel it imperative to

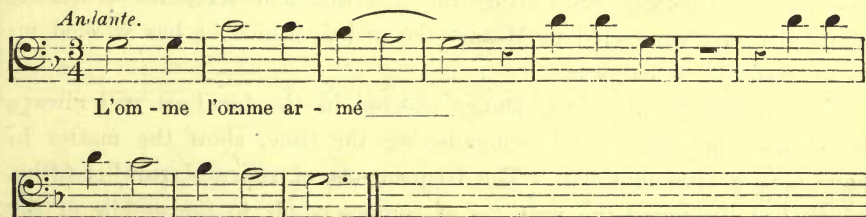
To detail all the additions and improvements which Dufay effected in the tonal art would be impossible, but it will not be difficult to give a summary of them. It was Dufay who, in place of the *cantus firmus* sanctioned by the Church, substituted a popular secular melody.

say a few words on the subject. Arnold bases all his suppositions on three incidents which occurred during the fifteenth century. The first of these is a reference to Dufay in some verses by Martin le Franc, quoted by Fétis, the date of which is given as 1436—1439 A.D., and this, Arnold says, conclusively proves that the master could not have died, as is asserted, in 1432 A.D. But the citation is really of little worth, for on an examination of the verses we find that no reference whatever is made to Dufay as a then living composer. Their purport is merely praise, and a laudatory reference to the master might have been made equally well six years after his decease as a few years before. But, by inference, Arnold goes on to prove from the poem that in 1437 Le Franc must have seen Dufay with his own eyes; as the poem, however, in its entirety, or even the portion referred to, is not at hand, we must for the present content ourselves with accepting Arnold's assertions under protest. And were we even to admit the construction put upon Le Franc's poem as correct, and Bainis' date of Dufay's death therefore in 1432 as erroneous, what should we gain by extending this master's period up to 1474 A.D.? Nothing. There is, we admit, some doubt as to the exact date of the death of the famous Belgian, but we cannot, like Arnold, post-date it half a century, and then end by creating two Dufays, ignoring the first as a tone-master of any importance at all. Fétis ("Biographie Universelle," vol. iii., p. 72, and vol. vi., p. 359) wavered between 1432 and 1435, but such slight indecisions cannot be held to affect our general dating of masters who flourished so long prior to our century. Therefore, although we may even admit Dufay as having lived up to 1437-8 A.D., yet we cannot acknowledge two Dufays without the production of indisputable evidence, such as Coussemaker adduced when proving the existence of two Francos. The second of Arnold's proofs is a treatise by Tinctor (1476 A.D.), entitled "De Arte Contrapuncti," in which the writer asserts that it was only during the last forty years that compositions arose which were worth listening to by a connoisseur. This, Arnold says, must have been in allusion to works by Dunstable, Binchois, and Dufay, three contemporary composers of the middle of the fifteenth century. But on a careful study of Tinctor I fail to find any such statement. The only reference at all to our subject is the following:—"Neque quippiam compositum, nisi citra annos quadraginta, extat, quod auditu dignum ab eruditis existimetur. Hac vero tempestate infiniti florent compositores, ut Okeghem, Regis, Busnois, Caron, Faugues, qui novissimis temporibus vita functos, Dunstable, Binchois, Dufay, se praeceptores habuisse in hac arte divina gloriantur." This quotation Arnold divides into two distinct parts. The first, he says, treats exclusively of the composers of the four decades in question; and in order to avoid the possibility of any doubt as to who is intended, their names are distinctly mentioned. The second is a declaration on the part of these masters boasting of having been the pupils of Dunstable, Binchois, and Dufay. Accepting this interpretation, it would not be difficult to prove that Dufay must have died some time subsequent to 1432. But if one reads Tinctor's words unbiassed by Arnold's rendering, it is quite clear that two generations are referred to, their order coinciding with the hitherto accepted chronological order of these two groups of masters, the first of which flourished in the latter and the former in the early part of the fifteenth century. We cannot arbitrarily relegate masters to the same period as that of their disciples, but Arnold relies on "qui novissimis temporibus vita functos" to prove that Dufay, &c., must have lived at a time subsequent to that which had been the custom to suppose

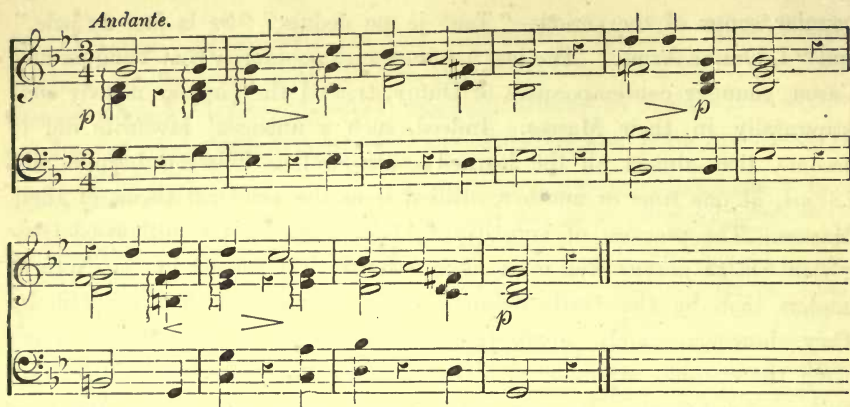
This practice subsequently became universal with the Gallo-Belgic masters, secular tunes made by the people forming, as a rule, the chief themes of their Masses. In three four-part Masses by Dufay, now in the archives of the Papal Chapel, both the melodies and texts are those of

them to have existed. It should not be forgotten either that Tinctor does not refer to these three masters individually, but as a group, and therefore the period—forty years—would cover the whole of their workings, although one might have lived and died some years before the other had risen to any note. As it is not disputed that Dunstable died at some date between 1453 and 1458, and also that Tinctor wrote about twenty years after this time, I cannot conceive that the author of “*qui novissimis*,” &c., intended his words to be interpreted as Arnold has read them. Of course, following Arnold, one might as well assert, that Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Meyerbeer were all contemporaries, living as they did within a common period of twenty years, especially if a biographer of these tone-poets, writing in 1876, should refer to them as of “recent times,” although we know they died respectively 1847, 1856, and 1864 A.D. Kiesewetter, Ambros, and Coussemaker were all acquainted with Tinctor's work, and yet neither of these investigators thought fit to alter the well-accepted date of 1432 as that of the year of Dufay's death. Fétis, too, would have done better had he, instead of asserting Tinctor's date to be erroneous, interpreted the phrase in the same manner that others before him had done. And yet Fétis does not at all attach the same importance to our quotation as Arnold, who asserts that Dunstable, Binchois, and Dufay were mentioned in that order by Tinctor in order to show that Dunstable was the oldest and Dufay the youngest master. If Arnold had but carried this reading a little further, he would, from the couplet of Le Franc already quoted, have made Dufay an *older* master than Binchois, and therefore have found the refutation to his own assertion, as the poet mentions Dufay first in his lines. Sebald Heyden, in his treatise “*De Arte Canendi*,” also mentions Dufay before Binchois. Even Tinctor himself, in his “*Proportionale Musices*,” when referring to these two masters, alludes to Dufay as the first and Binchois as the second. It would not be difficult to show that the third source upon which Arnold relies to disprove the hitherto accepted era of Dufay is also very untrustworthy. It is a passage in a work published in 1490 by Adam von Fulda, upon which Arnold puts a complexion that suits his own contention. It will be inconceivable that Arnold, whom we have so indisputably proved to have greatly erred, does not disdain to accuse Kiesewetter, Fétis, and Coussemaker of wilful one-sidedness in their lavish praise of the Belgian school, and even goes so far as to assert that they made use of fictitious chronological data. He therefore, by implication, includes in his denunciation Gevaert, Nisard, Forkel, Winterfeld, and Ambros, as all these writers have relied for information on our three first-named investigators. But Arnold's reckless assertions do not end here. In defiance of all historical truth, he asserts that the Germans were the inventors of counterpoint (vide pp. 57, 58, 62, 63 of this author's “*History of Music*”). But there can be no doubt any longer as to who were the originators of *punctum contra punctum*. The Montpellier manuscript discovered by Coussemaker sets this matter entirely at rest, and incontrovertibly proves that the great merit belongs exclusively to the French. It will not then be deemed surprising to read on page 62 of Arnold's work that he speaks of the music of the Netherland composers as that of barbarians, including in his sweeping condemnation the names of Josquin des Prés, Willaert, Gombert, Arkadelt, and Lassus. We hope by examples, &c., to show that at the early period when these masters lived, they were capable of writing in a deeply religious and withal learned manner highly creditable to their memory.

popular songs of the period—"Tant je me deduis," "Se la face ay pale," and "L'Omme Armé." The last attained such popularity that Faugues and Caron, younger contemporaries of Dufay, treated the popular melody contrapuntally in their Masses. Indeed, such a universal favourite did it become, that almost all the learned contrapuntists between Josquin and Lassus, at one time or another, utilised it as the principal theme of their Masses. The practice of substituting folk-songs for the authorised Gregorian *cantus planus* was even more extensively practised by the Netherlanders than by the Gallo-Belgians from whom they had adopted it. They, however, rarely appropriated the melody in its entirety, more often the opening strain only. Thus, in the "Omme Armé" Masses by Dufay and Faugues, the first theme occurs again and again. We subjoin the opening phrases of these two Masses, which will be found to be almost identical:—



Of course, it is not to be supposed that they were written either in the above notation or tempo. In the originals they are in the long drawn out notes of the old chorale. This appropriation of popular folk-songs by sacred composers points to a fact the important significance of which cannot be too highly estimated. It demonstrates most conclusively, in our opinion, the natural perfection which the people had attained in making their own music, and the artificiality of the masters' compositions, the result of a too strict adherence to academical law. Such a proceeding carries its own explanation. It was a laudable attempt to rescue the tonal art from the cloister, and to bring it into harmony with the everyday life of the people. The tune "Omme Armé" has about it so modern a ring that, set to an harmonic basis according to our present system, it might well be taken for the symphony to an opera romance.



It bears undeniably a striking resemblance to the refrain of Osmin's song in the *Seraglio*; and who will assert that this old tune, used by half a hundred composers during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, might not have suggested to Mozart the melody which he has worked up in so masterly a manner?

The improvements which Dufay effected in the tonal art will always be deemed important, and, remembering the time, show the master to have been a true musician. The frequent use of series of parallel fifths, which had disfigured the writings of composers up to the middle of the fourteenth century, *e.g.*, Francesco Landino, Jacopo and Guillaume de Machaut, disappeared entirely owing to his exertions, and he also was instrumental in doing away with many unskilful harmonic changes that seem to have found favour with the musicians. The notation adopted by the Belgian master was the "open note" style. As an historical landmark, however, it is more to our purpose to note the *interrupted* canonic part-writing. The imitation does not run through the whole of a composition, only showing itself here and there; still it was undoubtedly the first beginning of the purest style of canonic writing, the various parts imitating each other in strict form, without ever descending to the use of the primitive popular Rota with its never-ending phrases. With true inborn musical feeling, Dufay recognised the real worth of euphonic expression in the tonal art, and, asserting his own individuality, no longer held himself bound to conform strictly to the laws of the contrapuntist. Such original workings are to the tonal art as the first early streak of dawn

heralding the rising sun, and as the modest bud that shyly opens its petals to the beauteous flower. The following extract from the Mass "Ecce Ancilla," now in the Vatican, will at once show how comparatively advanced were the writings of the great master.

FRAGMENT FROM "ECCE ANCILLA," MASS BY DUFAY, BORN ABOUT THE
No. 172. YEAR 1350 A.D.



These few chords are very unpretentious and simple. If it is borne in mind that the writings of the old French school contained no true euphonic working, but were merely as it were so many exercises worked out by the academical skill of the contrapuntist, due praise must be given to Dufay for a work which aimed both at euphonic beauty and contrapuntal science. We are now about to draw attention to a curious coincidence in the arts of painting and music which hitherto has escaped notice. As Dufay had, by the assertion of his individuality, opened up new roads for the tonal art, so the brothers Van Eyck, painters and contemporaries of Dufay, prominently shadow forth an individuality of expression which was full of consequence to the after-development of the limner's art. Both painter and musician seem to work towards the attainment of the same object. The devotional contemplativeness depicted in the altar picture of the Virgin Mary by Hubert Van Eyck at Ghent appears to be the canvas delineation of the fragment we have reprinted from Dufay's Mass. The "Ave Maria" by the Netherland musician Arkadelt, given further on, also reminds us of Van Eyck's picture.

During the time of Dufay, Paris regarded itself still as the centre of the musical world, as it had really been for the past two centuries. Towards the latter part of the fourteenth century the empty and unskilful excesses of the singers, especially those of the French capital, began to supersede the strict scholastic doctrines of the old organists and contrapuntists. The inartistic embellishments so aroused the Pope's indignation that in 1322 he issued a public protest against the tasteless ornamentations with which singers, ignoring all contrapuntal laws, overloaded their Church melodies. It has been said that the Pope, John XXII., promulgated his edict only as a protest against the use of the Fauxbourdon, which the choristers of Avignon had introduced into the Church at Rome; but this was not the case. The Papal admonition does not appear to have had more than a passing effect, even if it had that, on the Parisian singers, for in the time of Dufay and Binchois, *i.e.*, not quite two generations from the issuing of the protest, we find all the old love of supposed decorative *fioriture* prevailing as strongly as ever. Even the French masters Tapissier, Carmen, and Cesaris, of whom the poet Le Franc says, "qu'ilz esbahirent tout Paris," are not to be absolved from the charge, as their reputation was more that of singers (and naturally, therefore, those who indulged in embellishments), and hence they cannot be compared to Dufay and Binchois. In his poem, Le Franc says :—

" Tapissier, Carmen, Cesaris,
Although adored by all Paris,
Their song ne'er had so grand a sound,
As in Dufay and Binchois found."

It was about this time that Paris began to give place to Belgium as the centre of musical cult, the superiority of the latter school being admitted by Le Franc, a Parisian ever ready to praise his countrymen. The disciples, therefore, of Dufay and Binchois had every reason to be proud of their masters.

In the Vatican and the Royal Library at Brussels there are to be found ten Masses and a "Gloria" by Dufay, and in the National Library at Paris a number of three-part chansons, among which is the melody "Je prends congé," written in the old black notation.*

* It should be particularly observed that this song is contrapuncted in the black notation, because Arnold has asserted that Dufay flourished at a time when this system was no longer in

We print here in full the chanson "Cent Mille Escus," by Dufay, as it will show the student at a glance the creditable attempts made by the old Belgian master to invest his part-writing with the true canonic basis.

"CENT MILLE ESCUS."

Three-part Song by Dufay, from the National Library at Paris.

No. 173. *Not too slow.*

SUPERIUS
(*Mezzo-Soprano.*)

TENOR
(*To be sung without transposing.*)

CONTRATENOR
(*Baritone.*)

I. Cent mille es - cus II.

I. Cent mille es - cus

III.

Annexed to II.

Annexed to II.

IV.

III.

IV.

III.

use. But what has not Arnold denied? As for the older (according to him) Dufay, he asserts that "he had never written a note," and that the younger Dufay, although a composer, was of inferior merit when compared to others of his countrymen. We would only remark that it seems strange that a musician, who, according to Arnold, was excelled by all his contemporaries, should have been venerated by them as their chief.

IV. varied.

IV. varied.

V.

V.

IV. In Contrary motion.

V.

VI.

IV.

VI.

IV.

VI.

IV.

The next master of importance to Dufay was his oft-named contemporary Binchois, or Gilles de Bins, so called from the town of Bins, in Hennegau, where he was born in 1400. He died either in 1452 or 1465 A.D., the latter date being the more probable, as we know that in 1452 he held the post of "Chapelain-chantre" to Philip the Good. Tinctor says of Binchois that, as a composer, his name should be immortal. At Dijon a manuscript has been brought to light which is found to be a requiem in honour of Binchois, the first voice singing "Pie Jesu Domine, dona ei requiem," whilst the other voices have the following refrain:—

" En sa jeunesse il fut soudart (soldat)
D'honorable mondanité,
Puis a eslu (élu) la meilleur part,
Servant dieu en humilité."

As he is also referred to in this lament as "Père de joyeuseté," and "Patron de bonté," we may surmise that the learned composer was a man of amiable and agreeable temperament. With Dufay he assisted in founding the Gallo-Belgic school. Of his compositions only a few chansons, motets, and one Mass have been preserved, and are now to be found in the Royal Library at Brussels, in Milan, and in the Vatican. There is also among the collection of manuscripts in the Vatican a Mass entitled "Dixerunt Discipuli," by Eloy, a contemporary of Dufay, born about 1400 A.D., died about the middle of the fifteenth century.

With the birth of Vincentius Faugues (1415 A.D.) we enter upon the second generation of Gallo-Belgic composers. He seems to have been a writer of no mean merit, as during the pontificate of Nicholas VI. (1447—1455) his Masses were very much used. Ambros, in his "History of Music," vol. ii., p. 524, gives a portion of this master's "Omme Armé" in full score, the manuscript of the Mass being now in the Papal Chapel at Rome. (Firmin Caron—probably a relative of Jean Caron, steward to the Duke of Brabant in 1470, and, therefore, also from Brabant—was a pupil of either Dufay or Binchois. He is generally supposed to have lived between 1420 and 1480 A.D. In the National Library there are several motets and chansons by this composer, which Fétis considers superior to those of Okeghem and Busnois.*) The last but one of the most prominent

* Fétis, "Biographie Universelle," 2nd edition, vol. ii., p. 194.

masters of the Gallo-Belgic school was Regis, or Jean du Roi, whose real Flemish name was "Koninck," *i.e.*, King. He was a contemporary of Okeghem, Busnois, and Caron, and lived from about 1435 to 1485. In a collection of Italian and Flemish compositions, published by Petrucci at Venice in 1508, there are several motets and a four-part Credo by Regis.

The last, and next to Dufay the most important master of the Gallo-Belgic school, was Antoine de Busnois. To both these masters we owe never-ending thanks for their efforts and working in the art of music. It was they who first strove to free it from the mathematical and theoretical laws by which it had been hedged in, and which for a long time had proved so great a barrier to a successful development. It was also they who first recognised the euphonic mission of the tonal art, and strove to give it a higher and more truthful expression than the necessarily artificial one founded on a purely mathematical basis.

Antoine de Busnois was born in Flanders in 1440 A.D. From documents in the Brussels Library, it appears that Busnois for the greater part of his life lived in the household of his sovereign, the Duke of Burgundy. From 1467 to 1477 he was Chapelain-chantre to Charles the Bold, and continued to hold the same office under his successor, the beautiful Maria of Burgundy. It may be historically interesting to note that from authentic documents we learn that the scale of pay of Busnois as Chapelain-chantre was nine sous a day in 1471, thirteen sous a day during 1472-3, and in 1474 eighteen sous a day. With the accession of Maria, the pay of the Chapelain was reduced to twelve sous a day, this rate remaining in force during this and the following reign of Philip the Beautiful. The relations between Charles the Bold and his Chapelain seem to have been of the most cordial kind. Busnois accompanied the duke on his travels, and also throughout his campaigns. The royal archives in the Brussels Library show that in 1475 Busnois, together with the whole of the musicians attached to the ducal household, attended on the prince at the siege of Neuss in 1475.

During the fifteenth century the love of part-singing seems to have taken hold of all phases of society in the Netherlands; princes and people, corporate bodies both lay and clerical, vying with each other in the formation of choral societies. This is highly important if we think of the mediocre music of the Meistersingers, and the sway which it exercised over

Germany. But the Netherland part-writing was the best and most profound which the musical art of that time could produce, both as regards euphony, contrapuntal working, and melliflence. The natural outcome



Fig. 174.—Singing Angels.

(From the "Adoration of the Immaculate Lamb," by Van Eyck, at Ghent.)



Fig. 175.—Playing Angels.

of this was the establishment of choirs in all directions, and the composition of a number of secular and sacred three and four-part songs.

To show how customary it was at that time to think of the practice of music only as a concerted exercise, we need but look at the works of the

painters of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, from among which we copy Figs. 174 and 175, by Hubert van Eyck, a contemporary and countryman of the tonal masters of the Gallo-Belgic school. Van Eyck did not, like his brother artists, depict heavenly hosts floating in air and singing their hallelujahs, but took his type from the Netherlands who surrounded him in real life. His angels have no wings, and they stand on *terra firma*. The features of the youthful virgins on the right have—and this is remarkable considering the date of the painting—an ideal and angelic expression. Their complete abstraction from all earthly things seems to indicate how entrancing was the practice of music for them. It will, of course, be noticed that their concerted playing is directed by the organist, who plays on an instrument which had then considerably developed itself. The choir of singing angels is conceived in a more terrestrial and realistic spirit. It was the practice in the Netherlands to sing from one book, necessitating that the singers should press close to the reading-desk on which the book lay—a custom shortly after introduced into the Church at Rome. This explains why Van Eyck depicted his angels chanting from one manual. In this group the artist has drawn for us a cantor, or leader, who, while conducting with one hand and using the other to heighten or lower the desk from which the singers are chanting, also sings apparently with her whole heart. The painter has caught with rare felicity of expression the faces of the angels, who, with full face to the spectator, open their mouths just as much as is required for the emission of powerful tones. It is evident from paintings such as these, by an artist so intimately acquainted with every detail of his subject, that concerted singing in the Netherlands was no uncommon practice, and, from our historical knowledge of the state of the tonal art, we conclude that polyphonic writing must have been their burden. The opening of the mouth and the delineation of the teeth should also not pass without notice, indicating as they do the good system of vocalisation which must then have existed. The allegorical representation of St. George and the dragon at the foot of the desk would seem to show that in the Middle Ages there was a belief in the power of divine strains to overcome the Evil One—an interpretation which, we think, is well in keeping with the teachings of the Bible.

The practice of concerted singing was not confined to the social circles



THE DREAM OF LIFE.

(From the Mural Painting by Orcagna, "The Triumph of Death," in the Campo Santo at Pisa.)

of the dilettanti, but was also very popular in the army; and we have before alluded to the fact that Antoine Busnois and numerous others followed Charles the Bold into the field. From the fact that Busnois' name disappears from the long roll of singers belonging to the ducal chapel of Burgundy in 1481, we might infer that the distinguished Chapelain-chantre died either that year or shortly before.

To give our readers some notion of the rapid progress which the polyphonic art made during the fifteenth century in the Netherlands during two generations, we append a three-part song by Busnois, with marks indicating the *imitation* and *inversion*, which should be examined in detail by the side of Dufay's "Cent Mille Escus."

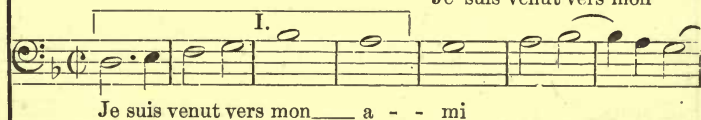
CHANSON "JE SUIS VENUT," BY ANTOINE DE BUSNOIS, BORN 1440 A.D.
No. 176.

Moderato.

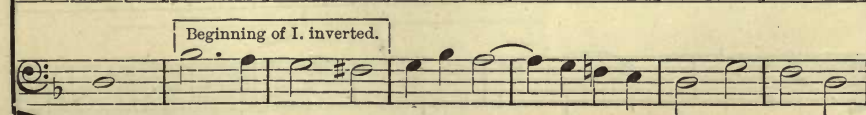
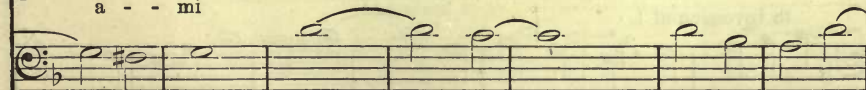
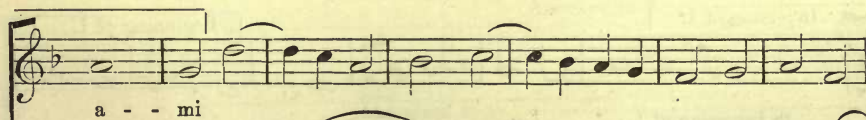
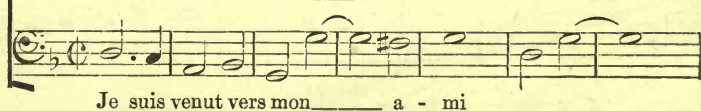
SUPERIUS
(Alto.)



TENOR
(First Bass.)



CONTRATENOR.
(Second Bass.)



Annexed to I.

Inversion of I. with different ending.

Inversion of I. with different

(5 5?)

Annexed to I.

Annexed to

ending.

Annexed to I.

Annexed

Inversion of I.

Beginning of I.

to Inversion of I.

The musical score is presented in three systems, each consisting of three staves (Treble, Bass, and Cello/Double Bass). The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C).

System 1:

- Staff 1 (Treble): Labeled "II." at the end. Contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes.
- Staff 2 (Bass): Continuation of the melodic line.
- Staff 3 (Cello/Double Bass): Continuation of the melodic line.

System 2:

- Staff 1 (Treble): Labeled "Beginning of II." at the end. Contains a melodic line.
- Staff 2 (Bass): Labeled "II." at the beginning and "Beginning of II." at the end. Contains a melodic line.
- Staff 3 (Cello/Double Bass): Continuation of the melodic line.

System 3:

- Staff 1 (Treble): Labeled "Annexed to I." at the end. Contains a melodic line.
- Staff 2 (Bass): Labeled "Annexed to I." at the end. Contains a melodic line.
- Staff 3 (Cello/Double Bass): Labeled "Annexed to I." at the end. Contains a melodic line.



Busnois' chanson exhibits an artistic maturity superior to that of Dufay, as far as these devices go, inasmuch as the first phrase is made the subject of the whole canonic structure of the voice parts. Imitations, inversions, and direction of movement of parts all show a systematic proceeding far in advance of the contrivances of Dufay. The latter master repeats the first phrase of his chanson only once, basing his imitations on two accidental motivi which bear no relation whatever to the opening subject. The canonic treatment of parts by Busnois is more continuous than Dufay's, the former but rarely ceasing an organic working, whilst the latter only now and again gives us a glimpse of a well-defined united part-writing. The repetition of the opening phrase at the close of Busnois' chanson, beginning with the contra-tenor, the other voices raising themselves upon the shoulders as it were of the contra-tenor, and all striving upwards, betray an undoubted and pronounced analogy to the close of Bach's fugues, the great contrapuntist compressing, as it were, the whole of his thematic workings into a few final bars. Busnois was also a bolder harmonist than Dufay, who, instead of pursuing his working in a natural manner, breaks off and takes refuge in the most elementary of contrivances. The contrast between the two is also particularly noticeable in the way that the seventh of the scale, *i.e.*, the leading-note, is used. The chary reluctance of Dufay in using the note as a resolving tone is strongly contrasted with the practice of Busnois in this respect, with whom it is the rule. The protracted use of the leading-note by Dufay in bars 7, 8, 27, 28, 30, and 31 of "Cent Mille Escus," is nowhere visible in Busnois' "Je Suis Venut," where, in every instance, the resolution is direct. The different method of treating the seventh by the masters is not only visible in the examples we have given, but appears in all their works. It is by such striking characteristics in the manner of treat-

ing the same interval that we are enabled to fix the date when composers existed, especially those of the Middle Ages, at a time when the grammar of music was beginning to form itself, and when its laws were very binding on writers; and this leads us once more to the observation that Dufay must have lived at a period anterior to that of Binchois and Busnois.

The fame of Busnois was so universal, that at his death, in 1482, special eulogies were pronounced upon him in Italy by Bartolemeo Ramis and Garzoni. In 1503 Petrucci published a collection of 150 part-songs ("Canti Cento Cinquanta"), amongst which are a number of four-part songs by Busnois. "Dieu! quel Mariage!" is especially worthy of notice, not only by reason of its very superior harmony, but also because in this composition Busnois works out a complete canon between the tenor and superius, without breaking the continuity of the tune or interfering with the free movement or flowing melody of the two other voices. There are still extant of this master's compositions a Mass in the Papal Chapel upon the popular "Omme Armé," and in Brussels a three and four part * "Magnificat," also a "Regina Cœli," several Motets, and the celebrated Mass "Ecce Ancilla," which may well be regarded as the most important musical historical monument up to the year 1475.

With the death of Busnois ended the Gallo-Belgic school, and with Master Okeghem, to whom we now turn, begins our consideration of the Netherland institution. But before treating specially of its masters, it would be as well to try and learn something of the rise and development of the school. We preface our remarks, however, with the statement that we are going to treat of the Netherland school in its broadest and most general sense. The Gallo-Belgic school, of which we have treated so fully, will therefore be regarded only as an integral portion of the whole Netherland musical conservatoires. The school in its entirety may be said to have included French Flanders, the Flemish provinces of Belgium, Holland as far as the north of Friesland, Belgian Luxembourg, the Meuse, and valley of the Sambre, as well as parts of the south and east of Burgundy. From 1369 to 1529 A.D. (*i.e.*, from Philip the Bold to the peace of Cambray) Upper Burgundy and the Netherlands formed the Duchy of

* In reference to the four-part "Magnificat" at Brussels, Fétis says, "Composition très intéressante, où l'on trouve des hardiesses d'harmonie et des libertés de style, qui indiquent un progrès depuis l'époque de Dufay."

Burgundy. This apparently extraneous information is necessary in order to explain why Goudimel, born 1510 in Upper Burgundy, has ever been numbered among the Netherland composers.

Out of these provinces two important schools grew up, the Netherland-Belgian and the Netherland-Dutch. Roughly, the two schools may be said to coincide with the two Netherland schools of painting, those of Brabant and Holland. The two sister schools of the tonal art, besides being connected geographically, were more intimately related by the progressive development of their music. Each possessed a style and method of treatment quite its own, and yet in the main were much the same. A tabulated statement, setting forth the contemporary masters of the two schools and the periods, is given here, and we will hereafter endeavour to show how the improvements and additions in the art of music were developed almost simultaneously in the two schools:—

THE NETHERLAND SCHOOL (1425—1625 A.D.).

A. BELGIAN SCHOOL.

1. *Period*, 1425—1512.

Principal Master: Okeghem. Also Compère, Brumel, Petrus Platensis, Tinctor, &c.

2. *Period*, 1455—1526.

Chief Master: Josquin des Près. Also Agricola, Mouton, &c.

3. *Period*, 1495—1572.

Most prominent: Gombert. Also Ducis, Adrian Willaert, Goudimel, Clemens *non Papa*, and Cyprian de Rore.

4. *Period*, 1520—1625.

Principal Master: Orlando Lasso. Also Andreas Pevernage, Philippus de Monte, Verdonck, &c.

B. DUTCH SCHOOL.

1. *Period*, 1430—1506.

Most prominent: Hobrecht.

2. *Period*, 1495—1570.

Principal Masters: Arkadelt and Hol-
lander.

3. *Period*, 1540—1622.

Principal Master: Swelinck.

At a glance one is struck with the number of masters belonging to the Belgian school compared to the Dutch. Those of the latter school, although few, yet from an artistic point were not inferior to those of the Belgian.

From all these we single out Okeghem, born between 1425 and 1430, as the chief and most important. He was the real founder of the Netherland school, improving the contrapuntal art that had been transmitted to him by the Gallo-Belgic school up to what may almost be considered a state of virtuosity. Although it is presumed by many that Dufay was his master, it is far more probable that he was a pupil of Binchois.* Among the records in Antwerp Cathedral respecting Binchois and "his fifty-three singers," the name of a young man, Okeghem, appears, and there is every reason to suppose that this was our great master. This is supported too by the fact that Chevalier de Burbure asserts, on what is considered good authority, that Dendermonde, in East Flanders, was his birthplace. Prior to 1461 he appears to have been engaged in the service of Charles VII. of France as singer, and from evidence at hand we should judge him to have remained in the service of the French monarchs, as Tinctor, in a work, "*Liber de Natura et Proprietate Tonorum*," referring to Busnois and Okeghem, speaks of the latter as "*premier chapelain du roi très-chrétien Louis XI.*" About 1484 the king appointed him Trésorier of the Cathedral of Tours, at which place it is generally supposed he died in 1512.

To Okeghem may be conceded the doubtful praise of having raised the canonic style to the highest point of subtle ingenuity. This master, with the perceptive acuteness of a genius, built up the Canon form in such a manner that there might fairly be claimed for him the honour of having pioneered the fugue brought to such perfection by Sebastian Bach. Indeed, as far as the mere contrapuntal devices of the great fuguist go, he must be regarded entirely as a pupil of the old Netherland master. But to Okeghem alone belonged the merit of having fused into an organic whole, classically conceived, all the inherited mechanical contrivances, from which he evolved a complete art-form that will ever remain as a monument to his talent. Certainly many masters prior to Bach had done good service to the fugal cause. The immediate pupils of Okeghem, viz., Compère, Brumel, Pierre de la Rue, and, above all, Josquin des Près, seeing to what excesses their master's love of tonal com-

* Fétis' is also of the same opinion, "*Biographie Universelle des Musiciens*," 2nd edition, vol. vi., p. 359.

binations had led him, rejected many excrescences of purely academical lore and pruned all such inartistic superfluities until they attained a comparatively pure euphonic expression.*

It must not be inferred that Okeghem was nothing more than a learned musical arithmetician. Such a judgment pronounced upon the master, and (as sometimes has been done) upon the more gifted of his pupils, would show a lack of historical acumen to be regretted in these days when so much new information is at hand. We willingly unite with those who assert that he has created a name renowned more for his capabilities as a teacher than as an inventive master. But besides those pupils who, it is not to be denied, leaned strongly towards the scientific bent of their master, there were those in whose music we trace that endeavour to make the tonal art what it should be—the vehicle for the expression of the feelings. But their beauty of expression was naturally undeveloped, and bore plainly the traces of that immature chrysalis stage which we find in the early periods of all arts.

The canonic form of Okeghem and his contemporaries, as developed in their works, must be regarded as of an exhaustive nature as far as the character of the compositions go. First, in Josquin des Piès' Mass "Omme Armé" we find the "canceriza," i.e., a retrograde movement of the *cantus firmus*, and similar devices are also to be met with in Pierre de la Rue and Hobrecht; next the *inversion* form of the Canon, i.e., a counter-movement of all the intervals of the *cantus firmus*, a contrivance not to be confounded with that adopted in the *retrograde* form. In the latter the melody was repeated interval by interval, but beginning with the last note, whereas in the *inversion* Canon the inversion itself led off with the original initial note, but in continuing each interval was inverted, so that where it formerly had ascended it now descended.† Both these contrivances are to be met with in the same works; and as we have stated that new devices were adopted simultaneously by the two schools,

* To bring fully before the reader the excesses Okeghem fell into, we would refer to this master's "Deo Gratia," a Motet in *thirty-six* parts. We must admit, however, that the authenticity of this composition is not conclusively proved, as *six-part* works at this period were but rare; but Ornithoparcus and Glareanus, two writers of a time little subsequent to Okeghem, ascribed a similar composition to that master.

† In a Canon by Hobrecht all the thirds of the *cantus firmus* which ascended are made to descend in the repetition (Ambros, "Musical History, vol. iii., p. 68).

so now do we find this same canonical working in both Flemish and Dutch compositions. The *cantus firmus* also underwent various changes during this period by augmentations and diminutions, but these additions and reductions were strictly confined to the tenor, *i.e.*, the pure *cantus firmus*. The actual marking of the notes was not altered, the lengthening and shortening being indicated by the words *crescit* or *decrescit in duplo, triplo, &c.* Later on these forms were known as *Canon per augmentationem* and *Canon per diminutionem*.

All the various contrivances which we have drawn attention to were adopted by Sebastian Bach, but other artifices also practised by the school of Okeghem were viewed in Bach's time merely as musical curiosities, and of importance only as historical data. But their significance cannot be altogether denied, as undeniably they were the means that enabled the tonal masters of the fifteenth and early part of the sixteenth centuries to gain a fluency and ease of expression without which their art would not have flourished as it did. First among these we place the repetition of the *cantus firmus*, that began with the second note of the melody, the phrase closing with the omitted initial tone; second, those canonic forms which omitted all rests of the *cantus firmus*, such omissions being indicated to the singer by *Clama ne cesses* or *Olia dant vitia*; then the canonic form which repeated the *cantus firmus* note for note, therefore giving forth the melody again; that in which the tenor was in the repetition half-retrograde and half-progressive; and, finally, that in which the *cantus firmus* was repeated with the omission of all the *minims*, *i.e.*, the shortest notes.

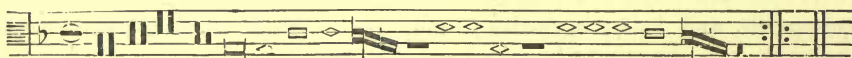
An examination of the works of Hobrecht and Josquin has brought to light a number of interesting examples in all these various forms, and after a most careful analysis we have arrived at the conclusion that such devices were not invented to puzzle the singer and to make the art of music the exponent of arithmetical musical problems, but that they arose from an earnest desire to consolidate a system of part-writing which could only exist after a complete mastery had been obtained over all kinds of musical contrivances.

The system of noting down Canons, during the time of Okeghem and the Netherland school, consisted of a formula of a few notes superscribed with a somewhat mystic Latin phrase, indicating the manner in which the

Canon was to be sung and the special contrivance to be adopted. Such cabalistic signs were in keeping with the spirit of the Middle Ages that loved to indulge in the mysterious and allegorical. Guilds especially delighted to revel in symbols and manifestations of all kinds, the key of which was known only to the initiated members. Therefore it was that the Netherland tone-masters, in whose country guilds abounded more than anywhere else, formed themselves into a society, framing their tonal laws in the same mystic spirit as the regulations of other corporate bodies, so that their mysteries should be intelligible only to those who had passed through their ranks. To the layman these silent indicators were as oracles, and even to the superficial musician they were difficult of explanation. It was from the adoption of this enigmatical system that such tone-formulæ have, not altogether improperly, been called "Enigmatical Canons," for, like most enigmas, they can only be solved when one is in possession of the key.

Okeghem is always singled out as the master who above all others cultivated a taste for the Enigmatical Canon; but Dufay largely adopted similar devices—*e.g.*, the subjoined tonal phrase, with its Latin superscription, indicating the special motivo of the master's Canon on the "Omme Armé."

AD MEDIUM REFERAS, PAUSAS RELINQUE PRIORES.*

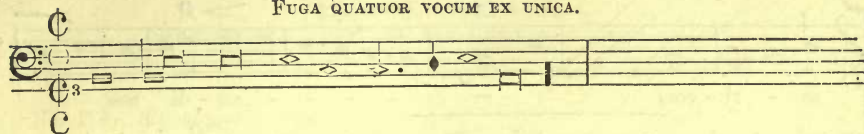


As a rule the Enigmatical Canon was marked *Ex una plures* or *Plures ex una*, meaning that from one given part several were to be evolved, special renderings being indicated by special formulæ. Glareanus, in referring to this method of marking, says, "Amavit Jodocus ex una voce plures deducere; quod post eum multi æmulati sunt, sed ante eum Joannis Ockenheim ea in exercitatione claruerat."

The following example of an Enigmatical Canon, from which four voice parts are to be evolved, is by Pierre de la Rue :—

* The words *Ad medium referas* indicated that in the first canonic repetition the notes were to be reduced to half their value; *pausas relinque priores*, that the pauses preceding the cantus were to be omitted in the last repetition.

FUGA QUATUOR VOCUM EX UNICA.



It is most interesting to observe how from one phrase a whole tonal composition can be developed, in which the opening theme by constant repetition gains the character of a complete subject. This must evidently of itself have proved a powerful factor in the consolidation of the fugue form, the chief and real principle of which is the erection of a complicated yet perfectly related whole upon one subject.

It has been said that where such a multiplicity of contrivance existed, the masters—*i.e.*, Okeghem and his pupils—could only have been musical mathematicians; but an examination of the works of some of the latter will disclose several instances where attempts have been made to simplify the tonal art with the evident desire to arrive at a purer and more truthful expression, which should command our unstinted praise. We have before alluded to the excellent work done in this direction by Dufay and Busnois, and we now include in the same category Hobrecht, Josquin, Arkadelt, and Brumel.

The three-part passage which follows, by Hobrecht, is of a very touching character, the ending being especially plaintive.

END OF "PARCE DOMINE," BY JACOB HOBRECHT, BORN 1430 A.D., AT UTRECHT.

No. 177. *Slowly.*

SOPRANO. *p* (Entreatingly.)

es et mi - - - se - - ri - - - cors mi-

TENOR. *p* (Entreatingly.)

es et mi - se - - ri - cors mi - - se-

BASS. *p*

et mi - se - - ri - - - cors

se - ri - cors ex - - - au - di nos

- ri-cors ex - - - au - - - di nos ex -

ex - au - di nos in ae-

in ae - ter - - - nam Do - - - ri-te - nu - to mi-ne.

au - - - di nos in ae - ter - nam Do - - - ri-te - nu - to mi-ne.

ter - - - nam Do - - - mi - - - ne.

We first note how expressive is the tenor where the voice ascends in the words "exaudi nos:" this movement is imitated by the *discantus superius* in the tenth and eleventh bars, the tenor rising meanwhile still higher; the childlike acknowledgment of guilt in the last five bars should also not pass unobserved.

Of a totally different character to the "Parce Domine" is Brumel's Motet for men's voices, "O Domine Jesu Christe." This composition abounds in mellifluous phrases, and throughout the impression of a grand festival is pre-eminent.*

* Van Maldeghem prints the whole of Brumel's Motet in his "Trésor Musical," vol. ii., No. 43. We have not given this writer's complete rendering, as we could not accept his accentuation and bar divisions, and have therefore altered it in such places as we considered it doubtful of interpretation.

BEGINNING OF A MOTET, BY ANTONIUS BRUMEL, BORN IN 1460.

(From Van Maldeghem's "Trésor Musical.")

No. 178. *Slowly and majestically.*

TENOR I. *p* *p* *p* *p*
 O Do-mi - ne Je - su Chris - - - te, pas - -

TENOR II. *p* *p* *p* *p*
 O Do-mi - ne Je - su Chris - - - te, pas - -

BASS I. *p* *p* *p* *p*
 O Do-mi - ne Je - su Chris - - - te, pas - -

BASS II. *p* *p* *p* *p*
 O Do-mi - ne Je - su Chris - - - te, pas - -

p *p* *p* *p*
 - tor bo - - - - ne, jus - tos con - ser - - -

p *p* *p* *p*
 - tor bo - - - - ne, jus - tos jus - - - -

p *p* *p* *p*
 - tor bo - - - - ne, jus - tos jus -

p *p* *p* *p*
 - tor bo - - - - ne, jus - tos con - ser - - -

- - - va con-ser - - - - va jus - - - - - tos con-
 - - - - - tos con-ser - va jus - - - - - tos con-ser - va - - - jus-
 - - - - - tos con-ser - - - - - va - - - - - jus - - - - - tos con-ser - - - -
 - - - - - va jus - - - - - tos - - - - - con - - - - - ser - - - - -

- - - ser - - - - - va - - - - - pec-ca-to-res jus-ti - fi - ca.
 - - - - - tos con-ser - - - - - va pec - ca - to - res jus-ti-fi - ca.
 - - - - - va - - - - - pec-ca-to-res - - - - - jus-ti - fi - ca - - - - - jus-ti - fi - ca.
 - - - - - va - - - - - pec - ca - to - - - - - res jus-ti - fi - ca.

A composition of another class is Arkadelt's "Ave Maria," which, on account of its touching simplicity, we print in its entirety. It is sweet and tuneful, and where the text requires, it is not wanting in increased animation.

The modulation from G major to B flat major through G minor is full of touching earnestness, and the change in the soprano from D sharp to D natural, the dominant of the key of the piece, is admirably expressive of joyous hopefulness.

"AVE MARIA," BY JACOB ARKADELT, BORN 1495.

No. 179. *To be played with much expression and feeling.*

SOPRANO. *A-ve Ma-ri - a, gra-ti-a ple - na, Dominus te - cum,*

ALTO. *A-ve Ma-ri - a, gra-ti-a ple - na, Dominus te - cum,*

TENOR. *A-ve Ma-ri - a, gra-ti-a ple - na, Dominus te - cum,*

BASS. *A-ve Ma-ri - a, gra-ti-a ple - na, Dominus te - cum,*

a - ve Ma-ri - a. Be - ne - dic - ta, be-ne-dic-ta tu in mu-li - e-ri-bus

a - ve Ma-ri - a. Be - ne - dic - ta, be-ne-dic-ta tu in mu-li - e-ri-bus

a - ve Ma-ri - a. Be - ne - dic - ta, be-ne-dic-ta tu in mu-li - e-ri-bus

a - ve Ma-ri - a. Be - ne - dic - ta, be-ne-dic-ta tu in mu-li - e-ri-bus

et be-ne-dic - tus fructus ven - tris tu - i Je - sus. Sancta Ma-ri - a, *rit. a temp. f dim.*

et be-ne-dic - tus fructus ven - tris tu - i Je - sus. Sancta Ma-ri - a, *rit. a temp. f dim.*

et be-ne-dic - tus fructus ven - tris tu - i Je - sus. Sancta Ma-ri - a, *rit. a temp. f dim.*

et be-ne-dic - tus fructus ven - tris tu - i Je - sus. Sancta Ma-ri - a, *rit. a temp. f dim.*

softly. p o - ra, o - ra pro no - bis, sanc - ta Ma-ri - a o - ra pro no - bis. *more slowly. rit. a temp.*

softly. p o - ra, o - ra pro no - bis, sanc - ta Ma-ri - a o - ra pro no - bis. *more slowly. rit. a temp.*

softly. p o - ra, o - ra pro no - bis, sanc - ta Ma-ri - a o - ra pro no - bis. *more slowly. rit. a temp.*

softly. p o - ra, o - ra pro no - bis, sanc - ta Ma-ri - a o - ra pro no - bis. *more slowly. rit. a temp.*

The Prayer to be played much more softly than before.

Sanc - ta Ma - ri - a o - ra pro no - bis. A - men.

Sanc - ta Ma - ri - a o - ra pro no - bis. A - men.

Sanc - ta Ma - ri - a o - ra pro no - bis. A - men.

Sanc - ta Ma - ri - a o - ra pro no - bis. A - men.

In order to enter thoroughly into the spirit of these old compositions—the firstfruits of an art-period when that art was just emerging from its infancy—it is imperative that they should be heard with choral effects. If it be attempted to render them on the piano, their character will immediately be changed, and the whole effect will be lost. First, the independent movement of parts will be no more the same; secondly, the vocal tone-colouring will be entirely wanting; and thirdly, the inability to retain the sound of the long notes will materially interfere with the general conception of the work. Even to a musician the impression would not be the same, for it must not be forgotten that the effects are purely of a vocal character.

Yet we could not refrain from presenting our readers with a few examples of these tonal compositions of the Netherland masters, for although it may not be convenient to obtain a vocal hearing of them, it can be a matter of no difficulty to play them on the piano, and in such a case we must strongly impress upon the reader the necessity of keeping the strictest time, and of paying the greatest attention to all marks of expression, and also, where no changes of harmony occur, to use

the pedal. Naturally the effect on the organ or harmonium will be still more impressive.

The examples of the compositions of the Netherland and Italian musicians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which we have already given, and those which we shall hereafter introduce to the notice of our readers, have necessarily been of the simplest kind. Those of a more elaborate character, with many parts weaving themselves one into the other, would not be intelligible to the musical amateur, neither have we the space at our command.

It would now seem to be the proper place to say a few words as to the general character of the vocal compositions which we have brought to the notice of our readers. In such an examination we must remember that the old masters of the Netherland school were the inheritors of the art of the contrapuntist invented by the Paris and Gallo-Belgic schools, and therefore we have a right to look for a higher standard of composition, and we shall not be disappointed.

Almost at the beginning of the Netherland school, mechanical invention was made subservient to *idea*. It was no longer contrapuntal writing for counterpoint's sake. Excesses were toned down, and the desire unquestionably was that the contrapuntist's art should occupy its proper position as a means to an end. Euphony and beauty of expression were the objects of the composer. In part-writing each voice was made to *relate* to the other in a manner totally unknown to the Paris masters. Such were the first beginnings of the "canonic" form, and fugato system of writing, the herald of that scholarly class of compositions known as fugues, the end and aim of which is to connect in the closest possible manner the various component parts.*

It was this complete mastery over counterpoint in all its varying details that gave to the tone-masters such unbounded artistic liberty. No longer was it necessary that they should, like the organists, cantors, and magisters of Paris and Tournay, exhibit their power over newly-

* It must be pointed out that the Canon of the Netherland period was already known as the "Fugue" (*Fuga ligata*), which was indeed more strict than that form which we now call Fugue, as in the former the parts were strictly imitative, and each followed the other without any intermission, thereby suggesting the pursuit of one voice by another, hence the name *fuga* (flight), whilst in the modern fugue the imitation is generally separated from the theme by interpolations.

acquired contrivances, but, as the inheritors of a system of inventive skill, the devices and contrivances fell into their proper and natural channel, and were regarded as merely subordinate to a purer tonal expression of feelings than had hitherto been attempted. Henceforth counterpoint was but a means to an end, and art-music began to assume for the first time the characteristics of folk-music, *i.e.*, the free, pure, and natural outflow of heart and mind, with the invaluable addition, however, of intellectual manipulation. This was the new style of vocal composition—a purified and simple music, yet garnished with all the lore that academical training could supply. The examples in this and the next chapter belong exclusively to this class.

After this brief reference to the vocal writing of the Netherland tone-masters, we will return to their history. The first name that meets us is that of Jacob Hobrecht, or Obrecht, born 1430 A.D., at Utrecht, on the Rhine, died 1506, at Antwerp, and who was therefore a near contemporary of the Belgian Okeghem, of whom indeed he was one of the most zealous and devoted followers, adopting all that master's scholastic and contrapuntal inventions. But his admiration of his master's learning did not prevent him from writing pieces in which truthfulness of expression was pre-eminent (*vide* the end of No. 177). He acquired great repute among his contemporaries; the choir of the Bruges Cathedral, for whom he had specially composed a Mass, journeyed to Antwerp solely to do him honour, and festive processions were held to celebrate his glory. Borbone, Bishop of Cortona, and leader of the Papal choir, also visited Antwerp for the purpose of paying respect to this master.

The first pupil who directly received the benefit of Okeghem's tuition was Louis Compère. Fétis believes him to have been born about the end of the fifteenth century at St. Quentin, in French Flanders, as his name appears on the roll of choristers of the cathedral of that city; but it is authentic that he died there in 1518. Antonius Brumel was also an immediate pupil of the famous Netherlander, and with Compère we find him mentioned in Crespel's "*Déploration sur la mort d'Okeghem.*"* Glareanus considers Brumel to have been one of the ablest composers of his time; and

* Van Maldeghem, in his "*Trésor Musicale*," vol. i., p. 43, states that Brumel was born in 1480 A.D. This is contradicted by Glareanus, who asserts that when quite a patriarch Brumel entered into a contest with Josquin, who it is known died 1521.

it must be conceded that those examples which have been preserved show not only an unusual musical gift, but a perfection of harmony surprising for that early period. Empty tonal constructions, which were formerly the rule, now gave place to chords of such fulness as would lead one to suppose that they were written from the standpoint of our modern feeling for harmonic euphony (see example No. 178, "O Domine"). From "La Déploration" we gather that Pierchon, or Petrus Platensis, or Pierre de la Rue, was also a pupil of Okeghem. The lines run thus:—

"Acoustrez vous d'habitz de deuil
Josquin, Brumel, Pierchon, Compère.

Pierre de la Rue, a native of Picardy, was born about 1450, and died 1510 A.D. In 1492 he was numbered with the singers of the chapel of Maria of Burgundy, and from 1499 to 1502 he appears to have been chapel-master to Philip the Beautiful. In 1506 he entered the service of Margaret of Austria, the reigning princess of the Netherlands, in which he remained till his death. The exact year in which he died is not known, but we may assume it to be about the year 1510 A.D., as in a legal document referring to that period we find his name mentioned. The master appears to have been a favourite with the fair Margaret. By her order seven of his Masses—six of which are for five voices—were bound in one volume of unusual elegance.

We now come to Johann Tinctor, the celebrated theorist to whom we have so often referred, and who, though not a pupil of Okeghem, was one of that master's warm and devoted followers. Trithemius states that he was born in 1435, at Nyvel (Nivelles), in Brabant. Selected to preach the Netherland art of music in strange lands, we shall on that account content ourselves with simply noting that he returned to his Belgian home in 1487 A.D. The date of his death is not known.

The most gifted of all the pupils of Okeghem was undeniably Josquin des Près (also written Deprès and Des Prèz). We have preferred to treat of him specially, as he stands out prominently as the founder of a great school, and as the leader of what may be termed the second epoch of the Netherland tonal art. For many years Germany, France, and Italy contended for the honour of having given birth to the illustrious master, but it has now been indisputably proved that he was born in Condé, Hen-

negau, between 1450 and 1455 A.D. In 1484 we find him singer in the Papal Chapel at Rome, but before he held this coveted post we trace him undergoing a long course of instruction in his native country. It is generally assumed that he studied under Okeghem prior to that master leaving Tours for Paris, and therefore between 1465 and 1470. It was in Rome that the extraordinary abilities of Josquin first excited attention, and indeed so great was the enthusiasm of the people for his learning and genius that none dared rival him. This explains why, on the death of Pope Sixtus IV., he was summoned to Ferrara by the Duke Hercules d'Este, where he composed for that nobleman the Mass "Hercules Dux Ferrariæ," one of the most celebrated of his works. From here he went to Paris, where he became *premier chanteur* to Louis XII. It is related that one day the king asked his favourite Josquin whether his powers were equal to the scoring a popular French melody in which a part should be reserved for his Majesty. The task was by no means easy, as the monarch was possessed of a very feeble voice, and of still less musical skill. But these were trifles to the sagacious master. He arranged the selected chanson for two boys' voices, adding a special part for the king, marked "Vox Regis," consisting of a single note running throughout the piece, reserving for himself the bass, which, it is almost needless to say, was the most important.* It may seem curious that, notwithstanding the friendly relations and repeated promises of the king to advance the master's welfare and to show his appreciation for his learning, his Majesty did so little that Josquin wrote a Motet, in the superscription of which, "Memor esto verbi tui," he delicately reminded the monarch of his promise. But the gentle reminder had no effect on the king, and it was left to Francis I. to redeem his predecessor's word, which he did by making Josquin Canon of St. Quentin. Konrad Peutinger states that Josquin held this post but for a very short time, accepting almost immediately the appointment of Provost in the Netherland Cathedral at Condé, under the Emperor Maximilian I. Thus the master returned in his old age to his native country, dying there, according to the inscription on his tomb, in 1521 A.D.

We must all honour Josquin for having, with innate musical perceptiveness, reduced to an extent hitherto unthought of the contrapuntal

* This composition is to be found in Glareanus' "Dodecachordon."

contrivances which had been heaped up to such an extent by his master Okeghem. It was really he who made them what they ever should be, the means and not the end of musical expression of feeling. He was the first to reduce the canonic imitation of the *Cantus* to the *Pes*. In the *Pes*, or ground-bass, as it has been called, the various themes appeared in a shortened manner, but always a tone higher or lower than the original melody. The *Pes* was also made the medium, apart from the *cantus*, for the expression of deep emotion. In his celebrated *Miserere*, Psalm li., he uses a *Pes ascendens* to signify the ever-increasing feeling of guilt, whilst in one of his *Motets* the *Pes descendens* is used to represent the decay and end of all human existence.

The number of Josquin's works is so great that we have space for the mention of a few only. Besides those already referred to, there exist five well-known Masses, viz., "Omme Armé," "La sol fa re mi," "De Beata Virgine," "Da Pacem" (of which the grandeur of the "Incar-natus" has never been surpassed by any master of modern times), and "Pange Lingua." The fertility of his musical invention and the beauty of his expression have before formed themes of our praise. Amongst his melodious hymns to the Virgin there are real gems breathing the spirit of that romantic feeling which in the Middle Ages was infused into all religious ceremonies. With the exception of Orlando di Lasso, no other master attained such celebrity during his lifetime. Martin Luther had a great affection for Josquin's works, and spoke of "Jodocus" (Josquin) as one of his favourite composers. In a reference to him by Glareanus, he says: "Never has nature created a more perfect artist, nor a master possessing so extensive and profound a musical knowledge."

To play or sing the compositions of this great master became the fashion throughout Europe—a fact which, considering their seriousness and the tardiness of the mental progress in those days, must be deemed very remarkable.*

Like his master Okeghem, Josquin attracted to himself a large number

* On this point Baini says, in his "Life of Palestrina," vol. ii., p. 407:—"Un tal Jusquin des Pres, o del Prato, in brev' ora diviene con le sue nuove produzioni l'idolo dell' Europa. Non si gusta più altri, se non il solo Josquino. Non v'è più bello, se non è opera di Josquino. Si canta il solo Josquino in tutte le cappelle allora esistenti: il solo Josquino in Italia, il solo Josquino in Francia, il solo Josquino in Germania, nelle Fiandre, in Ungheria, in Boemia, nelle Spagne il solo Josquino."

of pupils, but the balance of intellectual disciples is in favour of the former. Among those of Josquin appear the names of Pierre Moulu, Jean Mouton, Adrian Petit Coelicus, Jean Richafort, and Nicholas Gombert, the last of whom we shall specially refer to later on. For the present we can only refer to Jean Mouton, who seems to have so faithfully studied the principles of his master, and thoroughly made them his own, that his Motet "*Cum pulchra est*" was for a long time supposed to have been the work of Josquin. Mouton wrote also several Psalms, but his fame rests on his Motets and Masses. He outlived his master by about one year, dying 1522 A.D. In his turn he also had a pupil who attained great renown—Adrian Willaert—although it has been asserted by some that Willaert was the pupil of Josquin.*

We must now introduce to the reader a famous Dutch master, who, although a generation later than Josquin, yet stands in such close artistic relation that we deem it advisable to mention him here. This is Jacob Arkadelt, born between 1492 and 1498 A.D., in one of the Dutch provinces of the Netherlands. It is generally assumed that Arkadelt (written Arcadelt and Arcadet) was a pupil of Josquin, but this is contradicted by Fétis. However this may be, it cannot be denied that his works show so decided a leaning towards the teachings of Josquin that the presumption is certainly in favour of his having studied under the famous Belgian. As Arkadelt's sphere of action was entirely outside his native country, we have contented ourselves with this brief reference to the amiable and exemplary master, intending to deal fully with him in the next chapter.

The third epoch of the Belgian school dates from the time of Nicholas Gombert. Gombert may be taken as the leading spirit of the new phase of musical progress, his co-workers being Adrian Willaert, Claude Goudimel, and Cyprian de Rore (or Van Roor), all of whom, like Arkadelt, carried their art into foreign territory. Had they practised in their own country we should unhesitatingly have coupled their names with that of Gombert, or might even have placed them before him. This period also includes the names of Jacob Berchem, Clemens non Papa, Ducis, and Jacob Vaet.

The master Gombert was born in the old town of Bruges about 1495 A.D.

* The French poet Ronsard, of the sixteenth century, speaks of Jannequin and Arkadelt as pupils of Josquin. Walther, a famous lexicographer of the seventeenth century, born 1684, also says that Arkadelt was a pupil of Josquin.

Destined for the Church, he remained steadfast to his priestly vows throughout his life, although exercising later on the functions of chapel-master. As we have before said, he was a pupil of Josquin, composing on the death of that master a six-part Lament. At the time when the Netherlands were ruled over by the Emperor of Germany, he entered early in life into the service of his sovereign. When about thirty-three years of age we find him *Musicus Imperatoris* at Madrid, where he remained from 1530 to 1534. Through the friendship and favour of the king he was installed in one of those sinecure offices in the Netherlands, which enabled him to spend his remaining years in peace in his native country.

The special characteristics of the writings of this prolific master were a natural flow, and absence of that laboured contrivance from which a master even of Josquin des Près' talent was not entirely free. Gombert was acknowledged by three of his contemporaries as the leading master of his time, his genius eclipsing that of all others. Certainly the works of the master are imbued with a charm of melodic tunefulness and artistic expression entirely wanting in the writings of the earlier Netherland tone-masters. We agree, therefore, with Fétis when he says that Gombert was a precursor of the euphonic style of Palestrina. Ambros adds that he regards the great Netherlander as a man gifted with such musical prescience as should ever make his name respected; and Finck is of opinion that it was "the noble Gombert who, above all others, indicated the path wherein his successors in the tonal art should walk." Of his compositions we would mention his "Pater Noster"—a work so full of profound religious feeling that it may take rank equal to the best compositions of Palestrina—a beautiful Motet to the Virgin, "Vita Dulcedo," an impressive Motet, "Væ, væ, Babylon, Civitas Magna," and a thrilling "Miserere."

A contemporary, and there is evidence to believe a fellow-student, of Gombert was Benedict Dux, or Benedictus Ducis, or Hertoghs. On the death of Josquin, he with other pupils wrote a "Lament," a work that shows many traces of the skilled musician. Ducis was born at Bruges in 1480, and after having completed his studies removed to Antwerp, where at an early age he was made master of a guild of musicians—the highest dignity that could be conferred on a musician in those days. In 1515 A.D. he left Antwerp, and from this moment all reliable information concerning his movements is wanting. Fétis believes that about this time he was invited

to London by Henry VIII. ; but Burney contradicts this, no reference being made to the supposed visit in any musical document referring to this period. The assertion that Ducis left the musical profession for that of an ordinary schoolmaster in the town of Ulm is not less improbable. The great celebrity which he had attained in his native land as a tone-master does certainly not warrant such a supposition. We think it most probable that he retired into seclusion in his own country, where, as we know, he wrote his Josquin "Lament" in 1520, and where Fétis believes he died in 1540 A.D. The eight-part Motet by Ducis, "*Peccantem me quotidie*," is remarkable for majestic dignity amongst the compositions of that time ; his Psalms, Passion-music, and *Cantiones sacræ* all justify his great fame.

We have already alluded to Gombert's labours at Madrid, and the praise to which he is thereby justly entitled ; but we have to speak in still more laudatory terms of his countrymen—Willaert, Cyprian de Rore, and Goudimel—who not only journeyed to distant lands with the same object, but also founded schools. Therefore, as their work was carried on apart from their own country, our reference to them must be necessarily brief.

The first of these masters, Adrian Willaert, was born in Bruges, 1480 A.D., the birthplace, it will be remembered, of Gombert and Ducis. In the early part of his life he studied law at Paris, and it was not until some years had elapsed that he abandoned jurisprudence in favour of the art of music, mastering the intricacies of counterpoint side by side with Jean Mouton. The earliest date at which we know him to have entered upon his foreign labours is 1516 A.D.—Six years prior to this, *i.e.*, 1510, is now generally accepted as the year of the second master Claude Goudimel's birth, and his country Franche-Comté. At the comparatively early age of thirty he left his home, and, like his predecessor Willaert, sought his fortune abroad.—Our third and last master, Cyprian de Rore, was born at Mechlin (Malines) in 1516, and there is reason to believe that he entered on his travels at an earlier age than either of his predecessors.

We will close our reference to the tone-masters of the Gombert period whose work was carried on outside their native country by briefly alluding to Clemens non Papa. It is stated that this master entered the service of the Emperor Ferdinand I. of Austria, exercising his art at Vienna, where he died. On an examination of the archives of the chapel and singing masters of the Imperial Church at Vienna, we fail to trace any reference to

Clemens whatsoever. Equally improbable seems the assertion of Ambros that he was born in Brussels, a statement founded on no more worthy a source than the existence of a song, "The Noble Flower Marguerita," dedicated to the reigning princess of the Netherlands of the time. There is, however, no doubt as to the high reputation he held among his contemporaries, who, be it observed, dubbed him *non Papa* to distinguish him from the then ruling Pope Clemens VII. Among the many imperishable compositions left by this master a remarkable song, "O Maria vernans Rosa," a Motet, "O Crux benedicta," and a six-part Motet, "Ave Martyr gloriosa," may enable some conception to be formed as to the character of his writings, but they will not adequately convey to us either the fertility or the grandeur of the master's invention.

A Dutch contemporary of Gombert deserving mention is Christian Jans, better known by his sobriquet Hollander. Born in Holland, 1519 A.D., we find him at the age of thirty chapel-master of St. Walburga, in the Flemish province Oudenarde. The Motets of this composer are among the most brilliant of which the Netherland school, as a whole, can boast. On entering the service of Maximilian II., he wrote a six-part Motet in praise of his sovereign, entitled "Nobile virtutum culmen Rex inclite Salve." The originality of the rhythm, briskness of movement, declamatory phrasing, and rich euphonic part-writing exhibited in these compositions combine to make the name of Hollander respected everywhere as a learned tone-poet. Effective tone-colouring and animated movement are especially conspicuous in his eight-part Motet, "Christus Resurgens." In 1564 we know that Hollander was still in the service of Maximilian, but from that date we lose all trace of him.

Approaching now the fourth period of Netherland tonal development, we are immediately brought face to face with Orlandus Lassus, the greatest master of his age, and probably the most important of the whole of the Netherland tone-poets. The several names by which this celebrated master, born at Mons, in Hennegau, 1520, six years after the birth of Palestrina, was known are as follows: first as Orlandus Lassus, then as Roland van Lattre by his Flemish countrymen, as Delattre by the French, and as Orlando di Lasso by the Italians. When a youth he was selected, on account of his possessing a very fine voice, to sing in the choir of St. Nicolas'. A sad story is connected with the childhood of Lassus, the events of which greatly

influenced his life. His father was suspected of coining. Apprehended by the authorities, tried, and condemned, the lad Orlandus had the mortification to witness his parent's degradation of walking three times round the public scaffold wearing a collar made of spurious coins. So deeply did the lad suffer that he at once changed his name from Delattre to Lassus, and at the early age of sixteen left his native land to accompany Ferdinand of Gonzaga to Milan and Palermo, who had just then been appointed Viceroy of Sicily by the Emperor Charles V. At eighteen his patron sent him with letters of introduction to Naples, where he stayed from 1538 to 1540 A.D. One year later he had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of the Cardinal Archbishop of Florence, with whom he became so great a favourite that when but twenty-one he was made chapel-master of San Giovanni in Laterano. While here, 1543,* he heard that his parents were seriously ill, upon which he set out at once for his native town Mons, arriving, however, to find them both dead. The next we



Fig. 180.—Orlandus Lassus.

hear of Lassus is on a journey undertaken by him in company with an Italian nobleman, a friend of his, through England and France. From thence he returned to Antwerp, residing there two years on terms of the closest friendship with the most learned men of the city. One of his admirers, Van Quicquelberg, informs us that he stimulated the enthusiasm of his musical friends to the highest pitch. In 1557 he accepted an important appointment outside his native land, and therefore for the present we leave the master, to refer to him again in the next chapter.

The next prominent master of the Lassus period is Philippus de Monte,

* Some historians assert 1549.

who, like Cyprian de Rore, was born in the town of Mechlin in 1521. He rose to the dignity of Canon and Treasurer of the Cathedral of Cambrai. Soon after he was invited by the Emperor Maximilian II. to Germany, where he laboured and died. We must defer our account of the master's works until later on.

Of the masters of the Lassus period who laboured in their native land we specially mention Pevernage and Verdonck. Andreas Pevernage was born at Cambrai in 1543, and died 1591. He was made Cantor of the Cathedral of Antwerp, and, as far as our researches have gone, appears to have been the first master who provided his friends with private musical performances, at which compositions by Netherland, French, and Italian masters were played. In the archives of Antwerp it is recorded that the municipality, through their treasurer, paid to Master Pevernage 50 golden florins as an award for a volume of his part-songs published by Plantinus. So great was the master's grief at the death of his daughter, a girl of twelve, that he shortly after died. His wife has perpetuated the memory of both by a very touching lament which she had inscribed on their tombstone.

For the first of his private concerts Pevernage wrote a seven-part hymn, addressed to St. Cecilia, beginning with the words "O virgo generosa." After his death his widow published several of his works, among which were Masses for five, six, and seven voices, and Motets for the whole of the Christian year.

The second master, Cornelius Verdonck (1564—1625), born in Turnhout, spent the whole of his life in Antwerp, where he died. One member of the city corporation loved the master so much that he placed a tablet to his memory in the Church of the Carmelites. Verdonck wrote several madrigals for five, six, and nine voices which gained great favour with the people, besides a "Magnificat" for five voices, and a Mass.*

In Holland, in the second half of the Lassus period, the name of Jan Pieters Swelinck stands out as the leading master of the northern Protestant branch of the Netherland school. It is not correctly ascertained whether the master was born in Amsterdam or Deventer, both cities contending

* In the "Trésor Musicale," by Van Maldeghem, several specimens are given of compositions by Pevernage and Verdonck (Brussels, 1865).

for the honour; but the evidence is in favour of the latter town, where he is said to have been born in 1540 A.D.*

In the early part of his life the Italian school was pre-eminent as a musical academy, for it must be remembered that it was now nearly a century since the first apostles of the old Netherland institution preached their gospel in the sunny south. In 1557 Swelinck journeyed to Venice, there to study the tonal art under Zarlino and his fellow-countryman Cyprian de Rore, who had adopted Venice as his home. Our young Netherlander had already acquired considerable reputation as an organist in his native town, and he now hoped to create a name that should ever be remembered in the annals of the tonal art. His desire was not to be disappointed, for after completing his studies he returned to his home, where he very shortly attained the enviable position of being recognised as the greatest organist of the day, receiving the appointment of chief organist in the city of Amsterdam. His rare artistic merits attracted a large circle of followers, not only from among his countrymen, but also from Germany; indeed, so numerous was his following in his native country that he created quite a school of organists there, and must be regarded as the founder of that celebrated organ-school whose fame has extended all over Europe, including as it does such names as Samuel Scheidt, Heinrich Scheidemann, Reinken, and Buxtehude, culminating with the world-renowned Sebastian Bach. The immediate pupils of Swelinck were Melchior Schild, Paul Seyffert, Samuel Scheidt, Jacob Schultz or Prætorius, and Heinrich Scheidemann. It was the fame of Adam Reinken, a pupil of the last master, that attracted Bach to Hamburg, there to hear his organ performance. As every one of Swelinck's pupils enjoyed a high reputation in his day, we can from that alone infer what merit belongs to him as a master. He was esteemed so highly by his countrymen that a number of rich Amsterdam merchants united in presenting him with 40,000 florins, equal to 120,000 florins of to-day, a sum sufficient to preserve him from the anxieties of life usually attendant on an artist in his old age. Swelinck died October 16, 1621, deeply regretted by all. His vocal compositions show the closest affinity to the works of his great predecessors. The chief of these is

* Some have asserted that 1561 was the year of his birth, but this is not warranted by the evidence before us.

a collection of Psalms in six and eight parts, translated by Lobwasser ; other collections of Psalms, in four, five, six, seven, and eight parts ; as well as a five-part collection of *cantiones sacre cum basso continuo*, most of which are written in the strict *a capella* style. Swelinck is also to be remembered as the first instrumental composer of note in the Netherlands school, and also as the connecting link between the pure *a capella* style of the sixteenth century and the advanced method of the seventeenth century. It is to be regretted that so few of his organ compositions have been preserved, the greater number of them having perished in the sad destruction by fire of the Strasburg Library in 1871. It is strange that a master of undeniable talent should in his leisure moments have given himself over to the fashion of the hour, and have written for the prevailing zither, for it is on record that in 1602 he published at Amsterdam the "Nieuw Chyterboeck," or book for the zither. This fact causes us to pause and inquire what progress had up to this time been made in the Netherlands in popular instrumental music.

During the time of the wayfaring musicians and minstrels the practice of instrumental music, especially in Belgium, obtained great favour, and no more striking proof of this is required than the fact that the portals and pillars of Belgian churches are frequently adorned with the representations of instrumental performers. The four following illustrations of minstrels of the fifteenth century are taken from the church of St. Gommaire, in the North Belgian town Lierre.*

The guilds which sprang up everywhere in France in the fourteenth century among the wayfaring and town musicians were equally abundant in the Netherlands. The members enjoyed the most extended rights of citizenship ; possessed their own seals and insignia of office, some of which we print here. By their writings they evince a comparatively refined sense of the timbre of the different instruments, using them in a manner productive of praiseworthy tone-colouring. They used individual tone somewhat as the painter uses special tints, not only for its special appropriateness to the object represented, but also to obtain a specially characteristic effect. They are the first masters of whom it can be said that they endeavoured to arrive at a pure tonal colouring ; certainly up to their time no attempt had been made to achieve anything of the kind.

* Van der Straeten, "La Musique aux Pays-bas," Bruxelles, 1878, vol. ii.

To every thinking mind the question would naturally address itself, how was it that so quiet, nay almost phlegmatic a people, should have been the first (dating from the time of Antonius Brumel) to enter the wide area of



Fig. 181.—Minstrels of the Fifteenth Century.

(From the Church of St. Gommaire, at Lierre.)

tone-colouring, living as they did in a land under a perpetual canopy of grey, whereas the Italians, with their ever blue sky and sunny climate, were but their followers and imitators? We at once admit that the subject is too deep to be lightly discussed within the limits and scope of the present

work, contradicted as it is by the well-accepted theory that man is for ever striving to satisfy an inward craving for that which is wanting in his surroundings; for we must not leave out of sight that the Frieslanders living under the same conditions as the Dutch never had a love for the tonal art, and certainly never at any time tried to emulate their neighbours in this department of music. The Italians too, living, as we have pointed out, under circumstances exceptionally favourable to the development of this particular phase of the art, at first were but the disciples of the Netherlanders,



Fig. 182.—Seals of the Musical Guilds of Belgium of the Fifteenth Century.

and then later on their undisputed masters. The question is one which would require to be exhaustively dealt with if we were endeavouring to estimate with perfect accuracy the place of the musical art in the history of civilisation. Here it will be sufficient to point out a curious coincidence in the arts of the painter and musician which occur about this time. In the same manner that Adrian Willaert introduced the charm of tonal colouring to the Venetians, so Antonio da Messina, a disciple of the school of Van Eyck, introduced the knowledge of oil colouring which the Dutch had invented.

It no doubt has puzzled the reader why it was that not only Adrian, but a hundred other masters, left their native land to carry their art, or seek their fortunes, among strangers. As this second question arises we would remind the inquirer of the incessant endeavours made by the Netherlanders to preserve their country from the ravages of the ocean in the fifteenth

century, and how that at that time they were the first maritime nation in the world. By their geographical position they were enabled to put themselves into easy communication with other peoples. The two important rivers, the Rhine and Maas, also afforded opportunities for inland intercourse. By these means they were enabled to amass large fortunes, so much so that a Queen of France, at a public reception at Bruges, finding herself eclipsed by the rich trinkets of the wives of the merchant princes, exclaimed, "I fondly imagined that I alone was a queen, and here I behold six hundred." Albert Dürer also referred to the immensity of the wealth displayed on the entry of the young Charles V. into Antwerp. The magnificent town-halls at Louvain, Ghent, Brussels, and Bruges all bear witness to the opulence of the Netherlands. And now we shall see how important an influence all this had on the development of the art of music. Nations, and especially gifted ones, have at all times in periods of their wealth turned with a munificent hand to the aid of science and art. Thus it was with the Dutch. The names of Erasmus of Rotterdam, Boerhave, Scaliger, Snellius, Mercator, Hemsterhuis, Hugo Grotius, and Spinoza, that meet our eye at this period, are all those of giants in thought and learning. It was during this era that the magnificent style of Gothic architecture was no longer confined to the erection of sacred edifices but was employed in nearly all public buildings. And so also did the art of music rise to a height such as it had never before attained in any land or at any time. And thus it was that a wealthy nation, possessing the means of frequent intercourse with all countries, propagated a knowledge of the tonal art, sending forth its masters to work and die in foreign lands.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries we find them in Italy, Germany, England, France, and Spain. What they achieved, as founders of those new brilliant schools, the works of which the world enjoys even now with pleasure, and some of which have only lately been resuscitated, the intrinsic worth of which we have but just become acquainted with, we shall treat of in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XI.

THE APOSTLES OF THE NETHERLAND SCHOOL.

In the present chapter we propose to deal with those masters of the Netherland tone-school who left their native country to preach the doctrine of their beloved art among strangers, as a collective body, and as one that could not be and ought not to be dismembered. Such a survey has hitherto never been attempted. And in our proposed treatment we hope to introduce new and various points of interest to the student, showing the world-wide influence the Flemish apostles exercised in the dissemination and development of music.

Hitherto those masters of the Netherland school who either died abroad, or whose successes were achieved outside their native country, have never been viewed as a body of men originating from one common stock, actuated by one common feeling, receiving their inspiration from one common source, and preaching one common doctrine. Their unity of working has never received at the hands of historians that attention it deserved. Never have they been regarded as disseminators of the same art, but, arbitrarily forced into schools to which they never belonged, they have only gained consideration as units of such and such a particular people among whom they laboured. Perhaps we should qualify this remark, as certainly some writers have alluded to the unity of their working. But here the investigation has ended. Nothing has been said of their having emanated from the same academy, of having imbibed their theoretical and practical knowledge at the same fountain-head, and of being impelled by one common desire of affectionately initiating others into the mysteries of their divine art. Remembering this, therefore, we have thought it fit to designate these missionaries of the tonal art "apostles." And apostles they were, for above all things they were disseminators among strange people of the principles of a new art-religion.

In the history of music as far as we have treated, only once have we observed a similar movement. This was during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. After the old Parisian masters had invented

counterpoint and brought it to a fair state of perfection, we find what, in a sense, may be termed the first tonal missionaries. But one important distinction is to be drawn between the two bodies of men, and it is one which deserves the special attention of the reader. The Netherland missionaries, he will observe, were all children of the land whose art they carried abroad. But the Parisian apostles were mostly foreigners themselves to Paris, who journeyed to the French capital to study the art of music and to carry their knowledge back to their own lands. Although, therefore, they were missionaries of the Paris school, yet they have not that unqualified right to the title that belongs to the Netherlanders.

We have before remarked that the bulk of the Parisian missionaries journeyed in a north-easterly direction, towards French and Belgian Flanders. There they founded a school, based on the traditions of the parent one. This institution, known as the Gallo-Belgie, became the connecting link between the old Paris and the new Netherland school.

The large emigration of Gallo-Belgie masters into Paris, their subsequent return, followed by their foreign missions, point strongly to that love of travel so characteristic of the Teuton. But the reverse was the case with the French. They cared not to exert themselves to make their art known in all lands. They had no desire that foreigners should be possessed of the same knowledge as themselves. If, thought they, any one wishes to acquaint himself with the principles of the tonal art as taught by us, or with any knowledge that we have acquired in science and culture, he must seek for it here. They had literally no ambition to shine beyond the borders of their own land. This was the feeling paramount during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. And thus it was with the old masters of Nôtre Dame. They steadfastly set their faces against leaving their native country for the mere sake of propagating their art among strange peoples. But the Gallo-Belgie masters were all imbued with an earnest longing to initiate others into the science of the art they loved. To make pilgrimages, to preach everywhere the new religion, to force it to take root among strangers, to watch and tend its development, were in their eyes sacred duties; and from the first we find missionaries ever ready to go forth with the newly-developed style as the standard of the doctrine they loved.

The first and at the same time the most important of these apostolic teachers was the learned Dufay. Baini tells us that he was tenor singer in the Papal Chapel at Rome from 1380 to 1432, and that while holding this appointment he composed several works for the Church. In 1400 we find another Belgian master, Johannes Ciconia of Lieges, labouring in Padua. Ciconia was evidently a musician of considerable ability and much learning, as his treatise "*De Proportionibus*" unquestionably proves. He appears also to have been a painstaking composer and a skilful poet. Among those of his compositions written in the black note style there are several interesting portions of Masses, besides sundry Cantatas written in honour of the Doge and other notabilities of the Venetian Republic. As we know him to have been on friendly terms with the Paduan nobility, often writing specially in praise of them, we have classed him with the State composers, whom we propose to deal with in the thirteenth chapter. He also wrote both the words and music of a hymn of praise in honour of the University of Padua, to which celebrated institution he doubtless belonged.

Besides Dufay and Ciconia, we may assume with certainty that a great number of other Belgian masters wandered towards the south of Europe. Italy in particular was the direction to which the Gallo-Belgians turned. But it is to be regretted that we are unable to specify the particular localities in which the various masters worked. And still more is it a matter of regret that no record has been kept of such of the Netherland masters as must have visited Italy *en passant*. That many Flemish scholars did leave their home to propagate their art abroad we know for certain, and we can therefore only express our sorrow that neither their names nor those of the cities they visited have been recorded. Chief among this class must be counted Vincent Faugues, Jean Regis, and Antoine Busnois, and in support of our assertion we may adduce several facts. First, in the archives of the Papal Chapel referring to 1447—1455, certain Masses are to be found bearing the name of Vincent Faugues. Of Jean Regis there is much documentary evidence. The Vatican Library contains several compositions by this master, dated 1508 A.D. Earlier than this we find a Credo in four parts, a five-part Motet "*Salve sponsa*," a five-part Ave Maria, a Credo, and a chanson "*S'il vous plaisist*," all of which were printed by Petrucci. The fame of Busnois seems to have reached Italy before 1482, for in that year we find him the

object of praise by Ramis and Garzoni. Twenty-one years later Petrucci published his "*Canti Cento cinquanta*," in which were included songs by Busnois.

Among the celebrated Belgians who did not visit Italy was Binchois, a contemporary of Dufay and the supposed master of Okeghem. But although he seems never to have left his native country, his fame certainly travelled far beyond its borders. In France the poet Le Franc sang his praises, in Italy Franchinus Gaffurius, and in Germany Hermann Finck.

The Netherland school achieved much success abroad. Not only did it send forth composers and doctors of the art of music, but in addition well-trained singers were despatched to the various European countries, sometimes singly and sometimes in whole choirs. To judge from the number of invitations still extant from princes and republics requesting the presence of the schooled vocalists, the Flemish musicians must have been eminently successful in this department of their profession. So much in requisition were these choristers that they were able to select their own masters and impose their own terms. Therefore, in this phase of their foreign service, they must be kept distinct from those composers and teachers who went abroad by their own will, to preach their art wherever it might find a sympathetic and willing ear.

How highly the Flemish singers were valued is shown by the fact that in 1476 Duke Galeazzo Sforza of Milan invited thirty singers from the French Netherlands to his court, paying them handsomely for their services. An Italian writer of this period quaintly refers to them as "*trenta cantori ultra-montani*." Their success seems to have tempted numbers of others to seek their fortunes abroad, for about this time swarms of singers were to be found traversing the European continent. New choral societies were founded in Naples and Munich and other places, and existing choirs such as those at Rome, Venice, and Vienna recruited themselves from any of the wandering vocalists within easy access. As further opportunities will present themselves of discussing the merits of these choirs, we defer our observations till then, remarking now, however, that by the skilful management of the voice and perfect mastery over the intricacies and delicacies of their art they became favourites alike with the dilettanti and the crowd.

With the fusion of the two schools, Flemish, Dutch, and Belgian masters worked zealously and harmoniously for the same cause. But we have to draw one important distinction between our tonal missionaries. On the one hand we have those who not only laboured abroad but whose successes were achieved entirely outside their native country; and on the other hand there are those who, notwithstanding their missionary labours, attained the zenith of their popularity among their own people, and accomplished their principal work in their own land. The first we may call "apostles," and the second "semi-apostles."

Dealing with the semi-apostles first, and therefore with those masters who worked assiduously at home, the name that stands out most prominently is that of Master Okeghem. In 1461 he left his country to enter the service of Charles VII. of France as chief singer. According to Tinctor he retained this post during the reign of Charles and that of his successor, Louis XI. As we stated in the last chapter, Okeghem died in France, holding at the time of his death the office of treasurer to the Cathedral of Tours. We have not numbered Okeghem with the "apostles," because, prior to his journey to France, he had already attained considerable notoriety in his own country, even founding a school there. Indeed, after he had fixed his abode among strangers, he still remained on terms of the closest friendship with his compatriots, so much so that they journeyed to learn from his lips the doctrine he taught, to return to their own country the disseminators of the master's oracles.

Josquin des Près must also be regarded as one of the semi-apostles. His missionary labours were carried on at Rome, Ferrara, and Paris. He died in 1521 in his native country.

The third missionary belonging to this section is a man to whom we have not as yet referred—Master Clement Jannequin. Jannequin was a native of French Flanders and a pupil of Josquin. It has been asserted by some that he was a Frenchman, but this is not warranted by the evidence. Ronsard includes him in a list of pupils of Des Près.*

* In a preface to his "*Meslanges des Chansons*," 1572 A.D., addressed to Charles IX., Ronsard says:—"Josquin Desprez, Hennuyer (Hennegau) de nation, et ses disciples Mouton, Vuillard (Willaert), Richafort, *Jannequin*, Maillard, Claudin, Moulu, Jaquet, Certon, Arcadet" (Arkadelt). This proves nothing, as we know Josquin was not the immediate teacher of all the above masters, yet some were undeniably his pupils, and as the barrier is not rigidly fixed, the possibility is not excluded of Jannequin's having actually been a pupil of Josquin.

Fétis seems to think he was named "Jannequin" from the Flemish Jean, and from this very doubtful possibility infers that he was born in the Netherlands. However this may be, it is an ascertained fact that Jannequin's studies were made during the period when Josquin's star was in the ascendant, and as his compositions were principally for the Church, there is no doubt that his works were influenced by that master. Although Jannequin poses as a sacred writer, yet his secular music is far more interesting. It is curious to remark by the way, that although a Catholic by birth and tuition, he, like Master Goudimel, seceded from the Church of Rome to enlist in the ranks of Calvin. His earliest works were Masses, Motets, and some miscellaneous pieces written for the Catholic liturgy. He also set to music Marot's versified translation of the Psalms, and several French songs by the same writer. But, as we have said, Jannequin was greater as a secular composer, and as such will he be remembered. Some of his profane pieces are known even to-day. The causes that induced Jannequin to turn his attention in the direction of secular music were somewhat similar to those that led the celebrated Gombert to write popular secular pieces. Gombert's successes unquestionably were made in the cause of sacred music, but after hours of serious working, he found relaxation in the composition of light trifles. His fanciful imagination was allowed to run wild, and the pieces he threw off in these moments were what might be termed musical jokes. A "Bird Cantata" written in this vein is full of quaint humour. A humorous parody on the Church Alleluia was another instance of his musical pleasantry. From this it would seem that, notwithstanding the firmly-rooted belief in one God and the strict religious principles of the masters of that time, their religious faith was not at all impaired by such sacred burlesques. Lastly, we quote "Le Berger et la Bergère," a really funny piece. This humoristic worldly bent of Gombert had an attraction for Master Jannequin. But Jannequin's pleasantry took a more serious and thoughtful turn. He did not play with notes for the sake of sporting with sound, but strove to reproduce the sights and sounds of nature in a manner that has been productive of much good to the modern musician. The master evidently felt an irrepressible longing to illustrate by *tone-colouring* nature under its ever-changing aspect, and life with its multifarious incidents. And his success was undeniably great. With the exception of a

few modern composers, no master who has attempted similar writing can be credited with having achieved an equal triumph. If by his jesting tendencies he was led into excesses, still they were accompanied by so much that was simple and natural, and were worked with such consummate skill, that if one cannot sometimes suppress a smile, one cannot deny their masterly writing and importance as an art-historical feature. In his "Cris de Paris," published in 1529, the cries of the street vendors of fish, brooms, shoes, &c., are imitated in a strikingly clever manner. Another composition, "La Bataille," portrays the approach of troops, accompanied by the sound of drums and fifes, the thunder of cannon, the rattling of musketry, the clanking of swords, bugle signalling, and above all this is heard the voice of the commander. And be it remembered "La Bataille" was written in the strict *a capella* song style, and therefore was to be entirely executed by the human voice. Other tone-paintings by this master still extant are "Chansons de la Guerre et de la Chasse," "Chansons des Oyseaux," "La Louette et le Rossignol," "Prise de Boulogne," "Jalousie," "Le Caquet des Femmes" (a five-part song), "La Chasse au Cerf" (a seven-part song), "Le Siège de Metz" (another song for five voices), and many other similar compositions. We cannot help remarking after such a long list of descriptive pieces from one composer, that programme music is not, as it is now the fashion to believe, a thing of yesterday's growth, but that it was known and practised as early as the sixteenth century.

Judging from Jannequin's great love for tone-painting, and observing the *esprit* of the French and their tendency to amuse themselves with art in a piquant and effervescing manner, we should on this ground (especially when we remember the obscurity in which the master's origin is shrouded), be more inclined to regard him as a Frenchman than a Netherlander. The circumstance that most of his works were published in Paris, and that all his life, excepting his early student-days, was passed in Paris and Lyons, would also go far to confirm our assumption. As the French school did not exist during the sixteenth century as an independent and self-existing institution, we have referred to Jannequin in connection with the Netherlanders, because no other opportunity will present itself for our treating of this original and prolific writer.

Turning now to Master Gombert, no one will be surprised that we

include him among the semi-apostles of the Netherland school, when they remember that his greatest successes were achieved in Madrid. It is very probable that the teachings of the master exercised an influence over the neighbouring composers of Portugal. Damian a Goes, born 1560 A.D., a Portuguese tone-master, leans in his polyphonic Church writings unmistakably to the Gombert style. The same might be said of Vaqueras, a Spanish master who also here and there unmistakably shows the Gombert influence. But this is not so difficult of explanation, as Vaqueras was directly a pupil of the Netherland school, having left his home for the purpose of studying music under the Flemish masters.

Gombert was not the only representative of the Netherland school in Spain. Alexander Agricola (1466—1526 A.D.), a Belgian, spent the whole of his career among the Spaniards. He was a pupil of Okeghem, and not unfrequently indulged in fantastic and extravagant contrapuntal tone pieces, but he has left works the classical severity of which vie with the best of those of his contemporaries. A "Regina Coeli" and several Motets published by Petrucci and Maldeghem are all in this form.*

As we are dealing with the most important only of the Flemish musicians, the next to rivet our attention is the versatile and intellectual Tinctor, or Tinctoris. We have already spoken of him in connection with his home-life in the last chapter, and our first reference to him now will be at Naples, where, prior to 1476 A.D., he was probably exercising the office of teacher. About this time he was appointed principal chapel-master and cantor to Ferdinand I., King of Naples. In 1476 he published his treatise "De Natura et Proprietate Tonorum," and following this came the well-known "Liber de Arte Contrapuncti," which he tells us he finished in 1477 A.D. From this we should presume that he did not fully enter upon his duties until two or three years after his first appointment. Amongst Tinctor's theoretical writings, his "Terminorum Musicae Diffinitorium" is the oldest known published musical lexicon. The book is altogether a superior work. One of its many good qualities is that it is written in classical Latin, contrasting most favourably with the monkish Latin of

* In a rare collection of Motets published in 1538 at Wittenberg, and containing a preface by Martin Luther, we find an elegy on the death of Alexander Agricola, presumably written by Johann Walther. The superscription to the elegy, "Epitaphium Alex. Agricolae, Symphonistae regis Castiliae Philippi," proves that Agricola was admired in Spain no less than in his own country.

the period. It exhibits in the clearest possible manner the profound thinker and philosopher besides the practical musician. Tinctor was also an able mathematician and Doctor of Laws.* What have been transmitted as his compositions are only examples written to illustrate his theoretical works. From a letter to Tinctor, still in existence, it appears that in 1487 he was sent to his native country to engage trained singers for the choir of his royal master Ferdinand. In order that his mission might be certain of success, the letter stated that he would be furnished with letters of introduction to the German Emperor and the King of France; all engagements entered into by Tinctor were to be considered binding on the king. According to Trithemius, Tinctor was living in Italy as late as 1495 A.D. The assumption by some that he returned to die in his old age in his native country is therefore somewhat improbable.

Besides Tinctor, two other masters have become celebrated in connection with the Neapolitan school: Bernhard Hykaert, or Ykaert, and Wilhelm Guarnerius. The first, it is presumed, followed his master Tinctor to Naples, and the second is generally regarded as having been one of the band of singers brought over by royal command at the time Tinctor introduced those large bodies of vocalists into the South. In the archives of the Neapolitan city of 1480 A.D., Guarnerius is referred to as "Royal Chapel-master of Naples," and in another place reference is made to him showing that he was in that city in 1478 A.D. There are still to be found several old-fashioned Motets by Guarnerius mostly in the style of Dunstable. Hykaert's compositions are also of a very primitive description. They were published by Petrucci and consist principally of lamentations. Some Church compositions by this writer are also to be found in a Codex now in the possession of the Carmelites at Ferrara.

In order to bring clearly before our readers the whole of the missionaries of the Netherland tone-school, we have not thought it advisable to adhere strictly to chronological sequence. The special schools to which the masters belong, and the particular lands in which they laboured, have, in a history of music, more importance for us. Their artistic styles, also, have

* Besides the works already named we may further mention: (1) "De Origine Musicae;" (2) "Expositio Manus;" (3) "De Notis et Pausis;" (4) "De Regulari valore Notarum;" (5) "Liber Imperfectionum Notarum," all by the same writer.

had their weight with us, as well as their relation to the founders of schools. Following these rules we have dealt with the apostles of the Flemish school who made their homes in Madrid and Naples. And more particularly too did we treat of these two schools first, as they are the oldest institutions, the offshoots of the Flemish school. Another strong stream of musicians wound its way from the Netherlands towards Venice and Upper Italy. The prominent masters of this section were Willaert, Cyprian van Roor, Van Boes, and Berchem. A third detachment bent its course to Rome and Middle Italy, and to this belong Philippe Verdelot, Jacob Arkadelt, and Claude Goudimel. Intimately connected with the Middle Italian apostles is that body of masters who took up their abode among the Germans living to the east of the Netherlands. The most prominent of these were Jacob Vaet, Christian Hollander, Orlandus Lassus, and Philippus de Monte. In France the efforts of the Netherlands were more isolated and, as may be supposed, less successful.

Turning now to the schools founded by the Netherlands in the north of Italy, that instituted in Venice claims our first attention. It was the second of the tone-schools established in Italy, and the name most prominently associated with it is that of Adrian Willaert. From the records of the master's foreign labours it seems that the original purpose of Willaert was not that of proselytising the Venetians. Our first notice of him is in 1516 A.D. at work in Rome during the pontificate of Leo X. His relations with the Vatican choristers do not seem to have been of the happiest. It appears he had written a Motet "*Verbum bonum et suave*" which was very favourably received at the time. The choristers of the Papal Chapel praised it, but looked upon it, however, as a composition by the then world-famed Josquin. Willaert protested and asserted his right to the authorship. At this the Papal choir became angry and indignantly refused to sing the Motet any more. Willaert was enraged and left the city in high dudgeon. Whether the story be true or not (and there is no reason to doubt its authenticity), the master could have remained but a very short time in Rome, for shortly after 1516 we find him at Ferrara. Almost immediately on his arrival there he was offered, and accepted, the post of chapel-master to Ludwig II., the King of Hungary and Bohemia. In 1526 he resigned this appointment and turned his face in the direction of

Venice. This proved to be the most important epoch in his life. Within twelve months after he first set foot on Venetian soil he was installed in the office of chapel-master of the Church of St. Mark, at an annual salary of 70 ducats (subsequently increased to 200 ducats), a sum of much greater value then than now.

The Church of St. Mark possessed, and does to the present day, two organs, facing each other. This is supposed to have suggested to Willaert the advisability of dividing his choir into two, the natural outcome of which was the practice of alternate chanting, a usage soon to be adopted throughout Christendom. The origin of the double choir, arising out of an almost purely accidental circumstance, is an incident that deserves to be specially remembered. For close upon 150 years this system remained without change in operation in Venice. It is of no less import to note that such an art arrangement was the work of a son of the north, and not, as might very naturally have been supposed, the work of a southerner. Willaert's compositions for two choirs impress one with a sense of majestic, unaffected grandeur. They involuntarily recall to mind those magnificent yet withal simple marble palaces that face each other on the banks of the Canale Grande and in St. Mark's Square. We do not intend it to be inferred that Willaert was the *originator* of double choruses, and that he alone introduced them to the Netherlanders, for choruses for eight voices, and even more, were well known to the countrymen of Master Adrian. But their construction was not that of two complete and entirely independent four-part chorales. The voice parts were written according to strict academical rule. Harmony was purely an accident and altogether a subsidiary consideration. But in Willaert's double choruses harmony was the primary and almost the sole aim. In the former the parts were constructed according to the fixed rigid law of canonical imitation. The result was endless repetition. A oneness of melodic form and bareness of harmonic combination were produced contrasting very unfavourably with Willaert's double choruses. Only in the opening strains of the master's choruses are we reminded of canonical law, these immediately giving place to triads and common chords. It is in the compositions of Willaert that for the first time in the history of music we trace an endeavour to attain harmonic combinations which will at all coincide with our modern notions of polyphony. And Willaert, it must be said, showed a keen sense of divination as to what were well-

sounding chords, and what is more, used them to the best advantage. The old French, Gallo-Belgie, and Netherland schools were cognisant of independent *voice* movements only. They knew nothing of interweaving them so as to form one complete harmonic structure. If in examples of Brumel and Arkadelt, Nos. 178 and 179, we observe a stronger feeling for chords *as chords* than had hitherto marked the writings of their compatriots, yet it was not until Willaert's time that harmony was made the basis of contrapuntal working. The pupils of Willaert were alive to the immense gain to the tonal art under the new conditions, and in using the voice parts to form purely harmonic combinations, developed an almost new style of part-writing. We cannot refrain here from paying a special tribute of praise to our master, for prior to his pilgrimage to Venice he had written compositions in which the independent voicing of parts, as viewed from the old standpoint, were very praiseworthy, and equal to similar works of Dufay, Busnois, Okeghem, and Josquin. But with the acquisition of his double choir, he instinctively seems to have felt the true, natural suberviency of voicing to harmony. Indeed, it might with justice be said of him that he was the creator of the new style. The whole of his efforts in Venice were in the cause of harmony. This was his sole aim. He no longer sought to write part music in which the individual elements bore no relation to each other. The special movement of a part was important only so far that it constituted an harmonic element in the whole composition. At one step he went over from the use of the old Church modes to the modern system with its use of the triads built on the tonic, dominant, and subdominant, and all harmonic changes growing out of such a combination were used by Willaert in a musicianly and praiseworthy manner.

The alternating chant was first used in the service of the Psalms. The Psalmist's outpourings are eminently fitted for alternate song. Every verse may be divided into two parts, the second of which either intensifies or completes the idea expressed in the first half. Such a division seems to invite a double choir treatment. It is probable that the Hebrews may have sang their praises in the Temple of Jerusalem in responding choirs, but of this we cannot be certain; however, from the structure of the Psalms, such a method of chanting may very naturally have suggested itself, and indeed seems highly possible. Assuming this to have been so, Willaert, while reviving a practice for all succeeding generations, was perpetuating the

oldest traditions of Psalm-singing. It now becomes clear why almost all Italian Psalm composers since the time of Willaert adopted the double choir method. From Costanzo Porta, contemporary of Palestrina, to Gregorio



Fig. 183.—Adrian Willaert.

(From a Picture painted at Venice during the Master's Residence there.)

Allegri and Tommaso Bai, all sacred compositions of this kind were treated for two choirs. Even the masters of the Sebastian Bach period wrote their Motets by preference in the *a capella* style, uniting the choirs in the Fugue only. As may be supposed, the Venetians were extremely proud of their

“Messer Adriano,” as they delighted to familiarly speak of him, and called his double choir compositions *Aurum Potabile*—i.e., “drinkable gold.” And remembering the period and the state of art at the time Willaert wrote, this is really not so much hyperbole as on the first reading one is inclined to consider it. The grand and impressive effects of eight-part chanting were entirely new to the Venetians. Such massive tone-colouring must to their imaginative brains have found a ready parallel in the gorgeous shimmer of gold that glittered from the gilded cupolas of the Church of St. Mark. But even here Willaert surpassed himself. A “Magnificat” that he wrote was to be performed by three choirs. This was followed by several Psalms, also for three choirs. All these compositions were carefully studied by succeeding musicians, who saw in the complex polyphony, consisting sometimes of twelve and even fifteen parts, models of a new style worthy of the closest application. Now, remembering that the Venetians had instituted a school of painting celebrated for its diversity and harmonious blending of colour, and that it was in this very department of complex tone-colouring that Willaert so ably succeeded, then the master, by reason of his northern birth, becomes all the greater to us.

Willaert did not confine his attention solely to Psalms and Hymns, but also wrote largely and excelled in other kinds of compositions. The Motet form in which he had achieved success before his sojourn in Venice still furnished him the means of exhibiting skilled part-writing. One of his most notable Motets is that treating of the story of Susanna,* written in three movements for five voices. Caffi and Fétis affect to see in this work the foreshadowing of the Oratorio. But they are deceived, for although the subject is a Biblical one, it is not treated in epic form. The composition is nothing more than an ordinary hymn developed in a fuller manner. The birth of the Oratorio demanded other premises.

Willaert's name, too, will ever be remembered as the creator of the Madrigal in its present form, a style of composition that grew rapidly into favour, all Italy and Europe generally soon becoming acquainted with it. The Madrigal, i.e., a secular lyrical poem of either a love or pastoral theme, was first known in Provence. Thence it travelled to Italy, the first

* As a passing remark we may observe that the name of Willaert's wife was Susanna.

noteworthy composer being Casella, a friend of Dante. In its typical form the Madrigal originated in Venice. With his musical genius the Netherland master reduced the stiff and heavy *Frottole* of the local composers to the form which has remained the model for all subsequent Madrigal writers. The Madrigal was popular both with the artist and the people. The subject elected by Willaert was always that of noble and pure love. As a form of composition it was free and unrestricted by any old *cantus firmus* law. Seldom, in all his Madrigal writings, did Willaert leave the realm of feeling and love enunciated by himself as the theme of the popular song. The sole instance, perhaps, is a gondola song, "Un giorno mi pregò una vedovella," and a few others of the same class. Almost at the same time that Willaert was engaged in propagating the Madrigal song, two of his compatriots, Verdelot and Arkadelt, were likewise actively engaged in perfecting and disseminating the form. Amongst the Italian composers, and especially those of Northern Italy, there were many enthusiastic and zealous imitators of the Netherlanders. Palestrina, however, only wrote sacred Madrigals. Luca di Marenzio, who died 1599, and who, in honour of his sweet writings, was called "Il più dolce cigno," wrote exclusively secular part-songs that became the classical form of the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century Monteverde and Cavalli enlarged the form, adding *recitatives* and *cantalines* for single voices and instruments.

With these additions the form almost imperceptibly glides into the *Dramma per musica* of the Tuscan school, by which expression the Venetians meant the initiatory stages of the Opera as developed by them. The intellectual attainments of Willaert were of a far higher order than those of any of the masters of his own time. A glance at the classical subjects he selected for his compositions will at once evidence this. Chief among them is a setting to Virgil's verses, "Dulces Exuviae," known also by the name of "The Dying Dido." Originally it would seem that Willaert had been destined for the law, and his pupil Zarlino tells us that even in the master's old age he oftentimes referred to his early studies in jurisprudence with enthusiasm. Notwithstanding the honour universally paid him and his brilliant position at Venice, he remained true in his affection for his fatherland. On two occasions, in 1542 and 1556, we find him undertaking the arduous journey from Venice to his beloved Bruges, the latter visit extending over a period of eleven months. Feeling old age gradually overtaking him, he longed to

return finally and lay his bones in the land of his birth. But the Venetians were loud and earnest in their entreaties. Public addresses were voted him. Poems were indited in his honour. On all sides he was begged to stay, and at last he yielded to popular pressure. In his will, however, he desired his wife to realise all his property and return to his much loved Bruges.

His most prominent pupils were Zarlino, Viola, and Costanzo Porta. Willaert's countryman, Cyprian van Rore, who it will be remembered followed the master to Venice, was also one of his pupils. People contended with one another for the honour of being a pupil of the erudite master. The highest personages in the Venetian Republic were proud of possessing his friendship, and vied with each other in honouring him and receiving instruction at his hands. He numbered among his friends the oldest patrician families and the Doge himself. It may not be out of place to note that the Venetians were strongly opposed to the introduction of strangers into their republic, and that at first the Procurator's family firmly set their face against Willaert. But the Doge Gritti, however, convinced of the great gain to the State of an artist of Willaert's talents residing and teaching among them, overruled the opposition, and, as we know, the Bruges master located himself in the Italian free State in 1527 A.D. Musical Italy owes a debt of gratitude to the Venetian Doge, and the Italian nation at large is indebted to this patron of art, not only for his patronage of music, but also for the erection of the Logietta on the Piazzetta, the Palace on the Grand Canal, the Library, and Mint. It was also he who invited the great architect and sculptor Sansovino to Venice in 1523.

It is recorded of Alphonse D'Este, Duke of Ferrara, that in 1562 he begged Zarlino and his own chapel-master Viola, who at that time was in Venice, to obtain an introduction for him to the grey-haired musician. On the 7th December of this year Willaert died, and was succeeded in his office at St. Mark's Church by his pupil and countryman Cyprian van Rore.

The new chapel-master was born at Malines, in Brabant, in 1516, and died 1565. At a very early age he left his home to follow the famed Willaert to Venice, where he was placed among the choristers of St. Mark's. Possessing undoubted musical talent, he soon rose into prominent notice, and on the recommendation of his master was ad-

mitted into the service of Hercules IV. of Ferrara. Our portrait of Van Rore is taken from the Ambraser collection at Vienna. Another is still in existence, taken when the master was in the zenith of his popularity. It was painted at Venice, and is surrounded by allegorical groups, among which Apollo and the nine muses are represented. Surmounting the whole are six cherubs depicted in the act of ascending steps, representing the hexachord of Guido of Arezzo, the syllables *ut, ré, mi, fa, sol, la* being written underneath.*



Fig. 184.—Portrait of Cyprian van Rore.

(From an Original Painting in the Ambraser Collection at Vienna.)

In 1563 Van Rore succeeded Willaert as chapel-master of St. Mark's. He could only have held this post for some time less than a twelvemonth, as in 1564 we find him *chori praeffectus* to Ottaviano Farnese at Parma. This office also he enjoyed for one year only, as in 1565 he died at the comparatively early age of forty-nine. Of the works of Van Rore, and of the system of the musical declamation of Willaert based on chromatic progression which he perfected, we shall speak later on.

The third of the Netherland apostles to the Venetians was Philipp Verdelot, his residence in Venice extending over a period of nearly ten years—viz., from 1520 to 1530 A.D. Verdelot, or Verdelotto, was born in Belgium about 1490 A.D. His name appears on the roll of choristers of St. Mark's. After leaving Venice, where doubtless he had been attracted by the fame of his countryman Willaert, he took up his abode in Florence, remaining there until about 1540. Guicciardini supposes him to have died in 1567. His fame as a composer dates from 1526, at which time he had obtained celebrity throughout Italy. Later on he was known to all

* The faded portrait of Rore which is given by Van Maldeghem in his "Trésor Musical" is ascribed by some to a Venetian painter. Others, however, ascribe it to Johann Mielich, a German contemporary of Rore.

the Netherlands and France. Amongst his voluminous works some excellent Psalms and Motets deserve the most praise. One of the finest of these is "In te Domine speravi." Verdelot was also successful as a Madrigal writer, Willaert arranging several of this master's compositions for solo song with accompaniment of lute.*

The fourth and last of the Netherland apostles who worked in Venice is Jacob van Boes, or Buus. Fétis believes him to have been born in 1505 A.D., either at or near Bruges. His death may be taken to have occurred in 1560. Van Boes went early in life to Venice, where he founded a musical printing establishment. In 1541 he was appointed deputy organist at St. Mark's. This was a great step for the Fleming, as there were many candidates for the post, and among them several Venetians by birth. But the procurators unanimously decided in favour of Boes. The salary attached to the office was 80 ducats. Boes did not retain his appointment long, for shortly after entering on his duties he applied for an increase of pay. This was refused, and under the excuse of pressing private affairs he left the country, promising to return in four months. Instead of keeping his word he left Bruges for Vienna, and took service under the emperor. The procurators now began to lament their obdurate treatment, and sent instructions to their ambassador at Vienna to use all his influence to induce the master to return to Venice. Van Boes was willing to return, but fixed his own terms. These, in the opinion of the Venetians, were exorbitant, and after much unsuccessful negotiation they appointed Parabosco to the vacant office in 1551. Of the works of Van Boes we may mention a very meritorious *Ricercari* for his favourite instrument—the organ. The *Ricercari* is an art form of which we shall have occasion to speak later on. He also wrote several Motets in four and five parts for an *a capella* choir, and a number of Masses. The six-part Mass with the *cantus firmus*, "Surge Petre," is worthy of special mention. It is, however, not certain that all these works are by Jacob van Boes, as this master has frequently been confounded with Jacob Berchem. Berchem was a Belgian by birth, and flourished in the early part of the sixteenth century. If we were guided by his name we should fix his

* Willaert's arrangement bears the date 1536. A copy of the work is to be found in the library at Vienna under the title of "Intavolatura de li Madrigali di Verdelotto da cantare et sonare nel liuto, intavolati per Messer Adriano."

birthplace in the village of Berchem, near Antwerp. He laboured among the Northern Italians, but without mingling with the Venetians, taking up his residence in Mantua. On account of this he was known as Giuchetto di Mantova. The most fruitful part of his life may be dated between 1535 and 1565, during which time he was in the service of the Duke of Mantua. During his lifetime he was celebrated through all Italy. Excellent Motets and Madrigals by this master are to be found in several musical collections of the sixteenth century. Two of his six-part and three five-part Masses enjoyed a fair amount of popularity in his day. Among the many of his published works the Capriccios must be specially referred to. These were polyphonic compositions for the voice only, no instrument whatever being introduced. A four-part Capriccio by this master to stanzas of Ariosto's "Roland," published in 1561 by Antonio Gardano in Venice, signalises the ushering in of the Renaissance era in music. As we know that Berchem was still living in 1580 in the north of Italy, we presume that he died at a ripe old age in the arena where his early years had been spent.

Turning now to those apostles who disseminated their art among the people of Central Italy, we come first to Jacob Arkadelt, already referred to in the last chapter. There, staff in hand, we left him with his face turned towards Rome, ready to cross the Alps. He arrived in the city of his intended labours in 1540 and was at once admitted a singer in the Papal choir.* About 1544 he was appointed *Camerlengo*, an office which he held, according to the archives of the Papal Chapel, till 1549. At what period he entered the service of the Cardinal of Lorraine, Duke of Guise, is not exactly known, but in 1555 we find him with that prelate in Paris. This was the last of the master's wanderings, for shortly after he ended his days in the French capital. His compositions for the Church, all of a grand and noble character, were for the greater part written during his sojourn of nineteen years in Rome.

As a tone colourist he must be counted almost equal to his great countryman Willaert, to whose Venetian style he closely approached. In a criticism on Arkadelt's writings, Ambros draws special attention to the master's love of impressive and solemn endings; and Fétis, in his "History of the Tonal Art," quotes Pitoni as having considered Arkadelt to be one of the most gifted of early Madrigal writers. The master's best efforts in

* Fétis dates his arrival four years earlier, therefore in 1536.

sacred composition were the two Masses "Missa de beata virgine" and "Ave Regina." But he was also equally as successful when writing in the strict canonic style, as in the popular melodic vein. The "Ave Maria" which we print in our last chapter, written according to rigid canon law, was received with universal favour.

The second prominent Netherland apostle to the middle Italians was Claude Goudimel. The exact date of his birth is not known, but it was probably between 1505 and 1510. Nor is his birthplace agreed upon. Some writers, and among them Liberati, contend it was in Flanders; others, and their cause is championed by Pitoni, in the neighbourhood of Avignon, whilst Duverdier asserts that Besançon was the debatable city. Our opinion coincides with that of Duverdier. The poet Melissus, one of Goudimel's most intimate friends, wrote a dirge on the master's death, in which allusion is made to Willaert's birthplace as being washed by the shores of the Doubs. It was between 1535 and 1540 that Goudimel first entered on his work at Rome. His success there was of the most unequivocal kind. By his efforts a school was founded, which afterwards became the most celebrated institution of its class in Italy. There he instructed Palestrina—the pupil whose genius was soon to outshine that of the master—Animuccia, Bettini (also called Il Fornarino), Della Viola, and Nanini. In 1555 we meet him in Paris, partner of the literary and musical publisher Duchemin. Through this friendship he was enabled to publish his setting of a selection of the Odes of Horace, treated according to their metrical measure. The genius which he displayed in illustrating the chief points of his subject, the scholarly and musicianly interpretation of the poet's thoughts, and the classical and elegant Latin in which his letters to Melissus are couched, prove Goudimel to have been a man of no mean intellectual attainments.*

In 1558 he wrote a Mass for the Catholic Church, which seems to have been the last of his writings for the Papal service, for shortly after he enlisted as a follower of Calvin.†

* The Odes were published under the title of "*Horatii Flacci, poetæ lyrici, Odae omnes, quotquot carminum generibus differunt, ad rhythmos musicos redactæ. Parisiis, ex typographia Nicolai du Chemin et Claudii Goudimelli, 1555 A.D.*"

† Ambros is inclined to discredit this statement. But Fétis, in referring to the period 1554—1558, asserts most positively: "*Qu'il n'a embrassé la religion réformée que postérieurement à cette époque.*" And this would seem to be supported by Goudimel's celebrated setting

The most important of Goudimel's compositions, as may naturally be supposed, were those that formed the basis for the study of his pupils. The best of these were three Masses, "Audi filia," "Le bien que j'ai," and "Sous le pont d'Avignon," a six-part Motet "Crux Benedicta," and a "Salve Regina"* for three choirs of four voices each, all unmistakably showing the influence of Willaert. In several parts of these works we seem to hear already the refined tone-language of Palestrina. The pupil is eminently foreshadowed in the master. It has been often asserted that the clear style of Palestrina was originated entirely by himself, and that this is evidenced by the individuality of the master. Admitting this up to a certain point, we still insist, and nothing is more positive, that Goudimel not only wrote himself, but that it was he who influenced his pupil in this direction. Although Palestrina surpassed his master in fertility and grandeur in his later works, yet the influence of Goudimel's teachings was clearly apparent in the "Papae Marcelli," a Mass written according to the strict canon law of the Netherlands, which, without employing all the contrapuntal and mechanical contrivances that had crept into the service of the tonal art, proved that music could still be written intelligible to all without sacrificing melody.

After Goudimel's secession from the Church of Rome, the master published in 1562, at Le Roy and Ballard, "Les Psaumes de David mis en musique à quatre parties en forme de motets," and in 1565 at Jaqui's another setting to "Les Psaumes mis en rime française par Clément Marot et Théodore de Bèze." The first collection contains no less than seventy-six Psalms, all worked canonically, with the exception of the melody, which is unfettered by any rule. The four-part settings in the second collection, however, have the melody in the tenor. The fame of Goudimel, and as a consequence his religion also, were known to all Paris. He was, therefore, a marked man, and orders were given that he should be included in the general massacre that was to take place on the 24th of August. At this time Goudimel resided at Lyons, and together with others of his co-religionists, he met his doom on that fatal night, his body being afterwards cast into the Rhone.

of the Psalms, and also by the now generally accepted belief that he was among the victims massacred at Lyons on that terrible eve of St. Bartholomew, the 24th August, 1572. De Thou, Barillas, and other chroniclers of the French martyrs, all include one Claudus Goudimell in their lists of the murdered Huguenots.

* The score of this work has lately been brought prominently forward by Van Maldeghem.

Up to the present we have dealt exclusively with the apostles to the Italians. Now we are about to direct our attention to those who took up their abode among the people of Germany. The master who claims the honour of being the first German teacher is Jacob Vaet, who in the first half of the sixteenth century acted as chapel-master to Charles V. After Charles's death, Vaet continued in the service of the German emperors, taking service under Ferdinand I. and afterwards under Maximilian II. He spent, therefore, the greater part of his life at Vienna, occasionally moving with the court to Prague. As a composer he possessed no mean merit. His chief works are a plaintive *Miserere*, a triumphantly grand *Te Deum* in three parts for eight voices, and a Motet descriptive of the Judgment Day. The tone-colouring of this last work is exceedingly clever. It depicts in so realistic a manner the terrors of eternal damnation, and the apprehensive fears of divine justice, that we are really startled. His "Pro defunctis," full of the deepest musical feeling, is also an important work. The "Judgment Day" Motet was written "In honorem" of the Emperor Ferdinand, and this was followed in 1562 by a festal hymn written for the coronation of Maximilian at Prague. A second Motet, "In laudem invictissimi Romanorum Imperatoris Maximiliani II.," was also inscribed to Maximilian. All the writings of this master show that he possessed a keen sense of euphonic expression and a complete mastery over all choral effects, yet they are conceived in such a pompous heavy mood that we cannot shake off a feeling of disappointment. From existing documents we know that Vaet was still living in 1564. He probably died about 1567.

In Christian Hollander we meet the second of the apostles to the Germans. We have already referred in a general manner to Hollander's artistic career, and we will therefore only briefly recapitulate the chief incidents of his life. In 1557 he left Flanders for Germany.* There he entered the service of the emperor, and like Vaet, was engaged as chapel-master. When in Austria he sought out Vaet, and worked conjointly with that master for the dissemination of the tonal art. We have also slightly alluded to the writings of Hollander. As state composer he wrote a Motet, "Nobilium virtutum," dedicated to Maximilian II. This was followed by another of a similar character, "Austria virtutes." One of his best works

* "Christian Jan, son of the Hollander, was admitted to his discharge in 1557" (extract from the register of the Church of St. Walburga, Oudenarde, in Flanders).

is a six-part composition on the subject of St. Paul's conversion. In 1570 to 1575 a selection of his writings was published at Munich and Nuremberg. It comprised sacred and secular songs for four, five, six, seven, and eight voices, all easy of execution, and to be accompanied *ad lib.* by various instruments. The publications at Munich and his mistaken identity with his compatriot, Sebastian Hollander, the predecessor of Lassus at Munich, has led to the erroneous assumption that Hollander, in his old days, entered into Bavarian service. The inference that they were published during the master's lifetime is, we think, far more probable, and therefore Hollander would be still living in 1575.

With Orlandus Lassus we approach the third and most important of the Netherland masters of this section. His earnest endeavours to diffuse a knowledge of his art, and his devotion to the cause, have gained for the south-western provinces of the fatherland an importance equal to that achieved by Willaert for Venice. In the last chapter we followed the master's life up to 1557. In that year he left his Belgian home for ever. Through the influence of the Fugger family, merchant-princes of Nuremberg, who had also a branch establishment at Antwerp, he was appointed chapel-master at Munich to Duke Albert V. of Bavaria. Before he set out for his new home he was directed by the prince to engage a number of his countrymen possessing good voices to take service under Lassus in the ducal choir. The new chapel-master and his choir left Antwerp together and journeyed to Munich, where they were received in the most cordial manner.* Albert V. was considered, and justly so too, by his contemporaries one of the most discriminating patrons of art. The magnificent library at Munich, with its invaluable collection of manuscripts, was instituted by him. The presence of Lassus at the court of the duke seems to have given that prince the liveliest satisfaction. To have in his train a man who was not only a great artist musically, but also endowed with high intellectual gifts, was a source of intense delight to the duke. Quickelberg tells us that when it was known that Lassus was coming to Munich, report was busy as to the character and disposition of the man. He was credited with being a great artist and

* "Ex eo loco (Antwerp) anno 1557, ab Alberto Bavariæ duce, summo omnium Germaniæ principum Maecenatē, vocatus est Monachium cum aliis Belgis" (Henr. Pantal. Prosopogr., part iii., fol. 541).

a high-minded gentleman, and the Munich folk were not to be disappointed. The brilliant wit of the master, his amiability of temper, the cheerfulness of his disposition, and the universality of his knowledge, combined to make him a favourite with all. With the duke and duchess he was especially intimate, and owing to their personal favour was admitted to the highest social gatherings. His introduction to the court nobility resulted in his marriage in 1558 with Regina Welking, a maid of honour attendant on the duchess. By this union he had six children — two daughters and four sons. The two eldest boys, Ferdinand and Rudolph, were afterwards celebrated as composers, but they cannot be compared to their father. The youngest, Ernest, entered as an instrumentalist into the ducal chapel, and the second daughter, Regina, formed an alliance with Johann van Achen, court painter to Rudolph II.

In 1562 the master was installed as principal chapel-master to the duke, an office that was considered the highest prize in the musical world. The ducal choir consisted of both vocalists and instrumentalists, but the latter rarely united with the vocal section. Any such combination was not possible, as the *a capella*—i.e., the purely vocal style which had been in force up to the time of Lassus—was

POVR REPOS TRAVAIL



*Hic ille Orlandus qui Lassum recreat orbem
Discordemq; sua copulat harmonia*

*NOBILI ET EXIMIO VIRO DÑO ORLANDO
DE LASSVS, SERNISS.™ VTRIVSQ; BAVARIAE
DVCIS GVILLIELMVS MUSICI CHORI PREFECTO
Johān. Sadeler eiusdē Principis chalcograph⁹ observat⁹
ergo sculpsit et dedicavit. Monarchij.
cum privilegio Sac. Cæs. M.*

Fig. 185.—Portrait of Lassus.

(By his contemporary Amelingue, the French Engraver.)

still preferred by that master and his contemporaries. In the same year that Lassus received his appointment as chief chapel-master, he was despatched by the duke to Antwerp to engage more singers for the ducal choir.

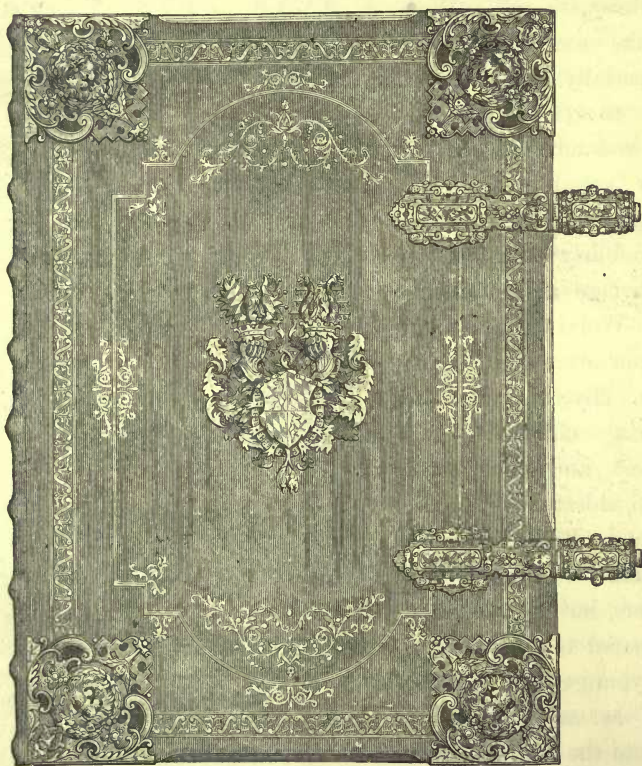


Fig. 186.—Copy of the Binding of an *édition de luxe* of Lassus' Penitential Psalms, now in the Library at Munich.

During the period 1563—1570 the master composed his now world-wide celebrated Penitential Psalms. Some of the finest of his Magnificats also appeared about this time. Although the famed Palestrina was a contemporary of Lassus, yet it was the latter master who was regarded throughout the musical world as the "Prince of Musicians." All European princes showed their marked appreciation of his talent, and extended to him their patronage and favour. In 1570, at a general meeting of the

members of the Reichstag, the Emperor Maximilian II. voluntarily invested him with the order of knighthood. The following year Pope Gregory XIII. decorated him with the order of the Golden Spurs, the ceremony being performed in the Papal Chapel by the chevaliers Cajetan and Mezzacosta investing the master with the spurs and sword, the insignia of the order. The same year Lassus went to Paris, provided with letters of introduction to Charles IX., and was treated by the French monarch with the most marked distinction. The circumstance of the visit to Paris and the flattering attentions of the king to Lassus has given currency to a story that Charles, remorseful for the heartless murders on St. Bartholomew's Eve, sought with feverish anxiety to appease his troubled conscience by directing the master to write music for the Penitential Psalms. Notwithstanding the superficial probability of the story, it has incontrovertibly been proved a myth. At a time prior to 1565 Lassus, at the request of his princely master, had already composed his Penitential Psalms, and therefore long before 1572, the year of the massacre. The setting so deeply moved the duke that he ordered them to be bound in the most costly manner, the court-painter Hans Mielich, and other eminent artists, being commanded to illustrate them pictorially.



Fig. 187.—Albert V.

(Taken from the Series of Portraits that adorn Lassus' Psalms.)

The lavish style in which the work was executed testifies strongly to the appreciation of the duke for the "pearl" of his chapel, as he delighted to call his favourite master. The valuable manuscript was copied on parchment from the master's own handwriting, bound in four large morocco volumes, and embellished with silver-gilt shields and locks chased and enamelled in the most elegant manner. The weight of the silver alone thus used amounted to twenty-four pounds. The work is profusely adorned with portraits of the Duke, Master Orlando, Mielich (painter of the miniatures), Van Quickelberg (the descriptive annotator of the contents of the volumes), Frieshammer (the caligraphist of the initial letters done in colours and gold), Seyhkein (the worker of the gold and silver ornaments), Ritter and Lindel (the bookbinders and general superintendents of the getting-up of the work), the whole forming a unique monument of princely munificence.*

With these facts before us, we are at a loss to understand how the story of Charles IX. and his supposed commanding of Lassus to set the Penitential Psalms to music should ever have obtained credence. The only possible solution might be found in the deep impression that the work had made on the minds of the master's contemporaries and later generations, coupled with the known enthusiasm of Charles for Lassus, and his special invitation in 1574 to Master Orlando and his choir to visit Paris.

But the proposed visit was destined not to be accomplished. Lassus had become very popular at the court of Albert. His society was a necessity to the duke, and it was only owing to the strong wish of Charles, so often put forward, that Lassus was allowed to start for Paris. The permission thus accorded by the duke commands our admiration. After he had consented to part with his master, he gave him free permission to cast his lot entirely with the French king. And not only did he do this, but he also pointed out the advantages that would accrue in residing with so powerful a monarch as the French king, and bade Lassus not to sacrifice his welfare by endeavours to return to Munich, but to remain permanently in Paris. The parting on both sides was sad and painful. Orlando set out for his new home, but he had only reached Frankfort-on-the-Maine when the

* The financial records of the Bavarian court expenditure at this time, referring to the getting-up of Lassus' work, show the following item: "To the Hungarian goldsmith for affixing ornaments, 764 florins."

news of the death of his prospective master was brought to him. He was greatly troubled and grieved, but the thought that now was he free to return to his beloved Prince Albert filled him with delight. Immediately he retraced his steps towards Munich, where, on his arrival, he received the congratulations of his numerous friends. This was the last time he ever left the city. Albert was especially pleased, and in a practical manner showed his enthusiasm by confirming Lassus in his appointment for life. The duke's successor, Wilhelm V., was also a warm admirer of the master, and in 1587 added the gift of a house and garden to his predecessor's munificence; and on the death of Lassus he awarded a special pension to his widow. This was augmented by the sale of some property Lassus had purchased in Putzbrunn. It is with sorrow that we notice that the natural cheerful disposition of the master did not remain unimpaired to the end. During the last few years of his life, to the great grief of his family, he suffered much from depression of spirits, intensified by a morbid apprehension of approaching death. We are not surprised at this melancholia, when we consider the enormous mental strain his compositions must have entailed. He is credited with no less than 2,500 original works, a number which, while it appals us, yet carries in itself the ready solution to the master's dejection. He died on the 14th June, 1594, mourned by all Munich. A costly monument in red marble was erected by his widow in the Church of the Franciscans at Munich. The esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries is tersely expressed in the following spirited distich playing upon the master's name:—

“ Hic ille est Lassus, lassum qui recreat orbem,
Discordemque sua copulat harmonia.”*

The monumental stone itself, 2 feet 4 inches high, 4 feet 8 inches long, was ornamented by bas-reliefs, representing on one side the Holy Sepulchre and the three Marys; on another Lassus, his wife, children, and grandchildren in the attitude of prayer, and the family coat-of-arms conferred on them by Maximilian II. In the year 1800 the

* The reader will observe that the distich is reproduced, with a slight variation, in our picture of Lassus. Fétis (vol. vi., page 213) gives it as above, and certainly the play upon *Lassus lassus* is more pointed here than that in the inscription of Fig. 185. As we know that the master broke down in his latter days through lassitude, it would seem as if the couplet quoted by Fétis was invented after the master's death. It is intended to say that though he himself is weary he can still refresh a weary world.

Franciscan churchyard was dismantled, and the Lassus monument fell into the hands of one Heigel, a warm admirer of the master. Next it came into the possession of a lady named Manntich, in whose garden it was to be seen as late as 1830, when we lose sight of it.

Lassus was perhaps the most prolific of all composers that ever lived. We have already referred to the apparently incredible number of works that emanated from his pen, and we will now endeavour to acquaint ourselves somewhat with the brilliant genius that shines through them all. On a rapid survey we are at once struck at the versatility of musical contrivance exhibited in all the master's works. Like Arkadelt and Brumel, he can move us just as much by plain homophonic chorales as by four-part hymns to which a popular melody is added as the discant. Like Josquin and Gombert he was also a master of that stupendous polyphonic style, elaborated with all the contrapuntal devices so often indulged in by them. Following Willaert, he composed several works for two and three choirs. On other occasions, notably in his Penitential Psalms, he restricted himself to two voices, without sacrificing any of that grandeur and depth of musical expression in which he so specially excelled. Sometimes he can be as characteristically Netherlandish as Hobrecht or Busnois; at others, when the theme requires to be treated in a subjective manner, he surpasses Clemens non Papa in that master's known skill over modern contrivances; and in chromatic writing he can be superior to Cyprian van Rore. His skill was undoubtedly the gift of genius. All his works are free from that one-sidedness characteristic of the writings of a special master. They exhibit the greatest refinement of part-writing, and a refreshing absence of any attempt at realising that which is purely theoretical. A sense of the beautiful and natural runs throughout, and we might with equal truth speak of an "Orlando Lassus style," as the polyphonic writing of the "Misa Papae Marcelli" leads us to speak of the "Palestrina style." Both these masters fused with the skill of genius the countless elements of musical lore that had been transmitted to them through generations into an harmonious whole that has insured for their names an undying celebrity. It is not an accident that we have spoken of Lassus and Palestrina in the same breath. Beyond question they were the greatest composers of the sixteenth century. They tower so much above their contemporaries

that when the historian of to-day looks back at first he sees none but our two masters. All others are overshadowed by their genius and versatility, and their great eminence has naturally led us to bracket them. Such a juxtaposition materially assists us in forming a correct judgment of the relative merits of the two masters. Throughout Palestrina stands forth in bold relief as a true son of the South. In him everything is bright, soft, sweet, and delicately refined. The writings of Lassus, on the contrary, are all cast in a simpler mould and covered with darker tints. To him characteristic expression was more important than beauty of form. As a natural result all his music is impregnated with a seriousness that everywhere stamps him a native of the rude Germanic North. The comparison of the two masters might be further explained by an architectural illustration. When not restricted by concessions to the text of the Catholic liturgy, Palestrina transports us as it were into the magnificent churches of Italy. Before us we see the splendid and beautiful San Paolo fuori le mura, with its costly columns of marble and malachite, its unique mosaic pavement, its altars streaming with gold, its magnificent paintings charming and delighting our senses. The symmetrical simplicity of its colonnades, the ornamental delicacy of its vaulted roofs, the bright Italian sun shedding its beams through the coloured windows, tranquillise us and induce a soft feeling of holiness. But the emotions engendered by the writings of Master Lassus are those that we experience on entering one of the Gothic cathedrals of Germany. Here everything is simpler. A more sombre atmosphere pervades the whole structure. The pillars are more solid and massive than those of the Romish churches. The pointed arch, too, gives to the aisles a greater and more imposing altitude than the circular roofs of the Italian churches. And so the writings of the two men are eminently characteristic of the two churches. Whilst Palestrina writes as if he had already the bliss of heaven and as a spirit utters the message of peace, Lassus, like a true soldier of the cross, is struggling to emerge from out this earthly darkness and doubt to attain eternal rest and peace. Ambros, when seeking to illustrate an opinion based on similar impressions, found his comparison in the "Stabat Maters" of the two masters. "The one (Palestrina)," he says, "brings the angelic host down to earth, and the other raises fallen man to eternal heights, both meeting in the regions of the ideal."

As it is impossible to mention in detail the whole of the works of Lassus, we select those most prominent. It must not be inferred, however, that such as may not be referred to here possess any the less artistic merit.

We should have wished to reproduce a selection of the master's works in full, but, owing to the restricted scope of this history, can only find space for one of the shortest, "Adoramus te Christe." In this composition the skill of Lassus in producing great effects through the simplest means is strongly apparent. The "Adoramus" is a chorale for four male voices, each provided with gently flowing phrases. The first glance suffices to show the entire absence of all contrapuntal devices. Neither do we perceive that intertwining of tenors and basses which the earlier masters were prone to delight in. Only here and there do we find slight *imitation*, and even then it seems to be more the natural evolution of the part than the artifice of the writer. The spirit of humble adoration that breathes throughout these solemn tones is most touching. And how profound and impressive is the 1st tenor, bars 13—20, on the words, "By Thy holy cross hast Thou saved the world." And again in bar 21 a thrill of awe runs through us when we hear the supplicating cry to God for mercy on suffering humanity. The modulation from C to E flat major through its dominant B flat major and the return to C, in so condensed a phrase would to-day even be regarded as an imaginative and bold transition.

"ADORAMUS TE CHRISTE," BY ORLANDO LASSUS, BORN 1520 A.D.

No. 188.

Andante. *p* *cres - cen - do.* *f* *di -*

TENOR I. A - - do - ra - mus te, Chri -

p *cres - cendo.* *f* *di -*

TENOR II. A - do - ra - - - mus te, -

p *cres - cendo.* *f* *di -*

BASSO I. A - - do - ra - - mus te, Chri -

p *cres - cendo.* *f* *di -*

BASSO II. A - - do - ra - - - - - mus te,

min. p sempre pia - no fp
 - - - - - ste, et be - ne - di - ci - mus
min. p sempre pia - no fp
 Chri - - - - - ste, et be - ne - di - ci - mus
min. p sempre pia - no fp
 - - - - - ste, et be - ne - di - ci - mus
min. p sempre pia - no fp
 Chri - - - - - ste, et be - ne - di - ci - mus ti - - -

p cres
 - ti - bi, qui - a - per
p
 ti - bi, qui - a per tu - am sanc -
p
 ti - bi, qui - a per tu - am
p
 - bi, qui - a per tu - am

cresc. *fp* *cres - cen - do* *f* *dimin.*
 tu - am sanc - tam cru - - - cem re -

cresc. *p* *cres - cendo* *f* *dimin.*
 tam, per tu - am sanc - tam, per tu - am sanc - tam cru -

cresc. *fp* *cres - cen - do* *f* *dimin.*
 sanc-tam cru - - - cem, per tu - - am sanc-tam cru - - - cem re -

cresc. *fp* *cres - cen - do* *f* *dimin.*
 sanc-tam cru - - - cem, per tu - am sanc-tam cru - - - cem

p *poco riten.* *p* *a tempo.*
 de - mi - - - sti mun - - - - - dum. Do - mi

p *poco riten.* *p* *a tempo.*
 cem re - - - de - mi - sti mun - - - dum. Do -

p *poco riten.* *p* *a tempo.*
 - - de - mi - - - sti mun - - - - - dum. Do -

p *poco riten.* *p* *a tempo.*
 re - - de - - mi - - sti mun - - - dum. Do -

Four-part vocal setting. The lyrics are: ne, mi-se-re-re no-bis, mi-se-re. The music features dynamics of *p* (piano), *cresc.* (crescendo), *f* (forte), and *dim.* (diminuendo).

Soprano: *p* *cresc.* *f* *di - min.* *p* *cresc.* *f*
 - ne, mi - se - re - - re no - - - - bis, mi - se - re -

Alto: *p* *cresc.* *f* *di - min.* *p* *cresc.* *f*
 - - mi - ne, mi - se - re - - re no - bis, mi - se - re -

Tenor: *p* *cresc.* *f* *di - min.* *p* *cresc.*
 - - mi - ne, mi - se - re - re no - - - - bis, mi - se -

Bass: *p* *cresc.* *f* *di - min.* *p* *cresc.* *f*
 - - mi - ne, mi - se - re - - re no - - - - bis, mi - se - re -

Continuation of the four-part vocal setting. The lyrics are: re no-bis, mi-se-re-re no-bis. The music features dynamics of *di - min.* (diminuendo), *p* (piano), *f* (forte), *dimin.* (diminuendo), and *poco rit.* (poco ritardando).

Soprano: *di - min.* *p* *f* *dimin.* *poco rit.*
 - - re no - - - - bis, mi - - se - re - re no - bis.

Alto: *di - min.* *p* *cresc.* *f* *dimin.* *poco rit.*
 - - re no - - - - bis, mi - - se - re - re no - bis.

Tenor: *f* *di - min.* *p* *f* *di - min.* *poco rit.*
 - re - re no - - - - bis, mi - - se - re - re no - bis.

Bass: *di - min.* *p* *f* *dimin.* *poco rit.*
 - - re no - - - - bis, mi - se - re - re no - bis.

No adequate notion can be gained of the piece by its performance on the piano. To be understood it must be sung, its effects being purely vocal. The composer has infused into his work a grand and noble feeling which, like the legitimately musical effects produced by the parts diverging, crossing each other, and then uniting, will only be properly appreciated and understood when rendered by human voices. As nearly every family contains some musical members, it can be a matter of no difficulty to bring together the required number of vocalists, when a very correct impression might be gained of the tonal works of the early Netherland and Italian masters. Where this is possible, the strictest attention should be paid to the marks of expression which we have added. We have deemed it advisable to insert these, to help to an intelligible rendering of the concerted pieces, as the sacred compositions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were totally void of any indications of expression. Some have crept into the works in the course of time, but none can be traced direct to the masters themselves, and there is no authentic document, as far as we can discover, which will help us to an understanding of the dynamics of the Netherland compositions. We are therefore thrown entirely upon our own resources. The theoretical treatises of the Flemish period, often extremely verbose, are on this point singularly silent, or at most give only a few vague and totally insufficient hints. There exist, however, among the choristers of the Sixtine Chapel, traditions as to the manner in which the works of the early masters were performed. But in the long years that have elapsed, tradition, as is well known, may so easily have lost its cardinal points and added others, that it is now extremely difficult to decide what is genuine and what is spurious.

But the master who enters into the interpretation of these works with a sympathetic heart, and determines to sink his own individuality, will, in their artistic construction, vocal technique, and the declamatory interpretation of the text, divine with little effort the composer's intentions. This has been the practice pursued by many able connoisseurs with varying success. None have, however, accomplished it in a thoroughly acceptable manner. There are many points of difference observable on a comparison of the various decipherings. But the attempts which have been made, however, are not antagonistic in every particular. There is a concord of opinion, first, that the *a capella* style of the fifteenth and sixteenth

centuries was not intended to be sung in the *strict* time of our period. The speed was to be increased or decreased according to the text. Sudden transitions from *forte* to *piano*, like those indulged in by Bach, Handel, and subsequent masters of the Rococo era of the eighteenth century, were inadmissible. The compositions of the old Italian and Netherland masters require the most minute shading, and allow only in the rarest cases unprepared *fortes* and *pianos*, and those solely when demanded imperatively by the text. As a general rule, a gradual increase or diminution of tone is the indispensable requisite. In our opinion these masters, though separated from us by three or four centuries, approach, by reason of their nuances, much nearer to the tonal romanticists of our day—Beethoven, Schubert, Weber, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Wagner—than a great number of the writers of the latter part of the eighteenth century. It corroborates what we have before asserted, that musical romanticism, like the romanticisms of all arts, originated in the Middle Ages, and was perpetuated in music, as the youngest of the arts, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The marks of expression to the “Adoramus” which we have inserted are the result of an earnest attempt to enter into the feelings and intentions of the composer. We have also endeavoured to interpret the Passion music of Palestrina in the same manner, and those students who have acquainted themselves with the style of the sixteenth century will easily trace the principles which have governed our marking.

It is not to be supposed for one moment that the few bars we have reproduced from Lassus can any more enable us to estimate the worth of the master than the simple woodcut of Dürer the artistic individuality of the gifted painter. Yet they may be the means of creating an interest in the respective masters, and induce the musical student to acquaint himself with other works of Lassus, which, considering the number of choral societies now interesting themselves in classical compositions, might be easy of performance.

Lassus is credited with the composition of fifty-one Masses, and these may be divided into two classes. In one the text is treated in a full and comprehensive manner, and altogether on a more extended scale than the second, represented by the “Missa Brevis.” This latter form of Mass was in use in the early days of Mozart. Both forms are treated in the

grand, noble mood of the Netherlanders, which, combined with the deep religious spirit infused by Lassus into all of his works, will ever render them worthy of the closest study. They are written for four and sometimes five voices. Lassus was also a most prolific writer of Motets. By some historians he is stated to have written the large number of 516, others asserting that 780 is the correct total. Of these we single out four: first, one in six parts, "*Timor et Tremor*," full of brilliant tone-colouring and vocal effects; "*Dixit autem Maria*," and "*Improprium expectavit cor meum*." The best of all is the masterly "*Gustate et Videte*." A curious story is connected with this Motet which invests it with an interest quite apart from its musical worth. Heinrich Delmotte, one of the most reliable biographers of Lassus, relates that on the Thursday of the Corpus Christi festival of 1584 a terrific thunderstorm, accompanied by a downpour of heavy rain, broke over the city of Munich. The reigning Duke Wilhelm viewed the storm in sorrow, as the hour was approaching when the Prince Bishop of Eichstädt was about to issue from St. Peter's at the head of a solemn procession to perambulate the city. Wilhelm, anxious for the well-being of the processionists, directed watch to be kept from the church tower, and report to be made to him of any likely change in the weather. But storm-clouds darkened the heavens, and after a weary delay the duke ordered the sacred Host to be removed from the altar and carried as far as the portals of the church only, the ceremony to be accompanied by the usual song. In this instance the sacred chant was the "*Gustate*." But scarcely had the choir, led by Lassus, sang the first few tones of the Motet, when lo! the rain ceased, and the sun in all its splendour shed its bright rays on everything around. Great was the joy of the duke. The procession left its halting-place, traversed the city, and returned to the church without suffering any ill-effects from the elements. But as soon as the processionists had regained the church doors, and the song had ceased, the rain again descended in torrents, and thunderclaps rent the air. The multitude were filled with wonder. One and all had observed that whilst the song was heard the sun shone resplendent, but immediately it ceased, the storm broke forth afresh. The people cried with loud voices, "*Miracle*," and in their simple enthusiasm fell on the altar-steps acknowledging in Lassus a superior being. Henceforth the "*Gustate*" was sung on all occasions when prayers for fine weather were offered up, a practice that remained in force for many years

after. The two sons of Lassus—Ferdinand and Rudolph—published 516 of their father's Motets in seventeen volumes, under the title of "*Magnum opus Musicum*," at Munich in 1604 A.D. They are written for from two to twelve voices.

A third class of composition in which Master Lassus excelled, and which made him one of the first masters of the *a capella* style, were the "*Magnificats*," written for four, five, six, and eight voices. Of these he is said to have composed about 180, of which number the Munich library possesses fifty. A fourth kind were his "*Sacrae cantiones*," of which there are still extant 429. He also composed a number of works for Matins and Vespers, also Litanies, Antiphons, Responses, Lamentations, Penitential Psalms and Hymns. Several Requiems, Ave Marias, *Salve Reginas*, and Passion music, all full of depth and beauty, also testify to the genius of the master. Of this last section, there is one—a setting for five voices—which deserves special mention on account of its touching simplicity. A "*Stabat Mater*" for two choirs, and a four-part setting to some passages from Job, should also be noticed.

The name of Lassus is connected, too, with the composition of seven Penitential Psalms—viz., 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143—settings which neither before nor after the master's era have been equalled by any tone-poet. One is instantly struck with the extreme simplicity of the opening chords, the small number of voices used, and the manner in which the meaning of the text is brought out. According to the spirit of the text, the master has used sometimes two, three, four, five, and six voices. These settings have been justly admired. The musical genius and artistic mastery that are proclaimed throughout this world of word-painting, either in imitation form, or in the master's grand and impressive style



Fig. 189.—Monument of Orlandus Lassus.

(By Widemann. Formerly before the Theatiner Church, now in the Promenade at Munich.)

of writing, gained for him the admiration and respect of all his contemporaries. Van Quickelberg, in touching language, alludes to the wailing and sorrowing tones that run through his friend Orlando's Penitential Psalms. In our opinion, however, Lassus has not only portrayed with masterly hand the fear and trembling of the penitent sinner, but has in an equally masterly manner foreshadowed the pardon of a loving God.

It is a curious fact that the composer who was able to paint the deep penitence of fallen man in a manner that literally thrills us through and through should have been at the same time the most prolific humouristic writer of his century. His musical pleasantry appears at its best in his German songs, which are conceived sometimes in a strain of simple naïveté, blunt comicality, or extravagant hilarity. A few Italian Villanellas that he wrote have a mixture of the grotesque and quaint in them quite of an original vein: a captain of a German infantry regiment is made to serenade his love in an extremely ludicrous fashion; in another a double chorus of festive monks are chanting the praises of the generous vine. The master's name became so intimately associated with songs of a convivial character that when carousals of an unusually jovial kind took place in Munich they were spoken of as being quite an *Orlandiade*. But, apart from the number of his humorous compositions, Lassus was a most fruitful writer of secular lyrical works, as the following list will testify—59 Canzonets, 371 French songs, 34 Cantiones latinae, and 233 Madrigals.

What the world—and more especially Munich, his adopted home—owes to this master cannot be properly estimated. During the present century, Ludwig I., King of Bavaria, a munificent patron of art, has erected a life-size statue in bronze to the great artist. The monument was set up in Munich next to the statue of Gluck, in an open space between the Theatina Church and Ludwig Street. A few years ago both monuments were removed to the public promenade square of the city, a site better suited for the purpose. A second statue has been erected to Lassus in his native town of Mons.*

The last of the Netherland apostles of the Lassus period who worked in Germany was Philippus de Monte, or Philip van Bergen, a corruption

* The most valuable of the master's biographers, both early and modern, are Van Quickelberg (or Quichelberg), Delmotte, Fétis, and Kist. But Ambros, Proske, S. W. Dehn, and Van Maldeghem have treated the purely musical and aesthetical side of Lassus' writings in a more exhaustive manner.

according to some, of Mons, in Hennegau, the master's birthplace, which in Flemish would be *Bergen*. Others assert that he was born in Mechlin, Brabant, in 1521. If this latter statement be true he could not have been called Monte from Mons, but Monte might have been the family name. However this may be, before De Monte left his home, probably about 1555 A.D., he had held the offices of treasurer and canon of the Cathedral of Cambrai, appointments not usually given to a man so young in years as the master must have been. In 1594 he was acting as *Chori musici praeffectus* in the Court Chapel at Prague. We also know him to have held office under Maximilian II., and therefore the greater part of his active life would have been spent in Germany.

De Monte was one of the most prolific and best writers of the Netherland school, and posterity is

indebted to him for a large number of compositions, both sacred and secular. Of his sacred works, his Masses and Motets, the latter of which were written sometimes for five, six, and twelve voices, deserve special mention. Of his secular writings we may notice nineteen books of Madrigals for five voices, and eight books of French songs for six voices. These works prove De Monte to have been a master of the art of the contrapuntist, whose rules he did not, however, follow in any slavish manner. The "*Domine Deus*," published in 1557, is full of intricate



Fig. 190.—Portrait of Philippus de Monte.
(After Van Maldeghem. Engraved by Sadeler in 1594.)

work in this respect. Some of his Madrigals, too, evidence the skilled hand, and bear a striking resemblance to similar works by Arkadelt. It is in such compositions as the latter that we trace special characteristic features that indicate in the clearest possible manner the unity of work and the common origin of the Netherland masters, regardless of their emanating either from the Dutch or Belgian institutions, and irrespective of the large number of apostles who, for a period extending over more than a century and a half, disseminated the doctrines of the tonal art throughout Central Europe.

De Monte was highly esteemed at Prague. As a matter extraneous to our subject, but perhaps of interest to the general reader, we might mention that the odd-looking head-dress which he is depicted wearing in Fig. 190 was called an Austrian cap. An old English poetess who resided at Prague during the lifetime of the master indited many poems in his honour.

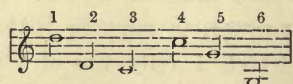
De Monte was the last of the great Netherland composers. With his death the school that had for so long sustained the traditions of the tonal art, increased its means of expression and improved and added to its rules, sinks into the background, not, however, to be entirely effaced. Its glory was partially revived in the eighteenth century by Grétry and Gossec, and in more modern times by Vieuxtemps and Verhulst. As musical historians the Netherlanders have become during the present century more celebrated perhaps than any other European nation. The bare recapitulation of the names of Fétis, Nisard, Coussemaker, Van der Straeten, Van Maldeghem, and Gevaert will suffice to show how much the musical world owes to them in this branch of musical literature.

CHAPTER XII.

EARLY ENGLISH MUSIC.

At this point, before entering upon the modern history of music, let us turn aside to consider the early rise of music in England—a subject on which very little has been written, and for the proper elucidation of which, unfortunately, but scanty materials exist. This makes the treatment of it somewhat difficult, yet not so difficult as it would have been before the publication of the valuable investigations of Mr. Wm. Chappell and M. de Coussemaker. Of the original Celtic inhabitants of our island we know but little, nor have we any remains of their musical instruments, still less of the music they may have sung or played. Still, we may form a very fair estimate of the nature of their music by studying the oldest specimens handed down to us of the bardic songs of the Welsh. We are all aware of the marvellous tenacity with which the people of Wales have clung to their language, their traditions, their poetry, and their music. Probably no race of men has preserved so much, unaltered, from the great storehouse of the past as these Cambro-Britons; and it is, therefore, not unreasonable to conclude that in their oldest tunes we may have the remains of what was anciently the music of this country long before the Roman invasion under Julius Cæsar. Now it is certain that the very earliest Welsh records seem to prove the existence of harmony in Wales. Doubtless it was of the rudest kind; but it was far in advance of the miserable attempts at harmony (if we may call it so) which we find in the works of the early writers on musical theory. Such men as Hucbald, for instance, would not admit of any harmonic intervals except octaves, fifths, fourths, elevenths, and twelfths, and these were used, as has been already shown in former chapters of this work, in long consecutions of similar perfect concords, such as would offend all modern ears, and drive any musician of our own times to desperation. There is every reason, however, to suppose that the popular harmony of the very early times to which I refer was of a very different kind from this. It admitted major and minor thirds among its consonances, and was framed to *please the natural ear* rather than to *satisfy the requirements of*

ill-understood Greek theories. In order to make this statement plainer, I would remind the reader that all the early treatises on music were written by ecclesiastics, who were bound to take the Church-scales, and the Plain-song founded on those scales, as their starting-point for melody; and whose ideas about intervals and their ratios were entirely based on the work of Boethius. Now Boethius followed the teaching of Pythagoras on these points (so far as he understood it), and consequently regarded the major third (or Ditone) as a harsh and discordant interval. In fact his major third, formed of two major tones, was sharper than the true major third by a comma, or interval of 81 : 80. Hence the rejection of the third by the early writers on music, and the adoption of what we now call the perfect concords only, in their attempts to accompany one melody by another, in what was then termed the "*Organum*," which has been already sufficiently described. As long as these doctrines prevailed there could be no great advance in the music of the Church. But the music of the people was not so limited; it was the spontaneous, and I might say instinctive, growth of natural musical inspiration, unfettered by arbitrary rules and false analogies, and trusting for guidance only to the dictates of an unspoilt musical ear. Hence the originality and tunefulness of the most ancient Welsh melodies; hence also the very early knowledge and practice of harmony which appeared to have existed among this ancient people. Two circumstances may be adduced as proofs of the early addiction of the Welsh to harmony. One is the construction of the ancient violin of Wales, called the *crwth*. This is one of the very earliest known instruments played with a bow. It consists of an oblong-shaped body, with a neck and a finger-board. It has six strings, four of which are over the finger-board, while two are open strings beyond it. The bridge is so nearly flat that it is impossible to make any string, except the first and sixth, sound *alone*. Harmony of some sort *must* result from the use of this instrument, unless indeed all its strings are tuned in unisons or octaves. But this we know they never were, for the mode of tuning was always as follows—



the two last being the open strings. And yet we find this instrument, so suggestive of harmony, mentioned by its Latinised name of *Crotta* by

Venantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers, who wrote about the year 609 :—

“Romanusque lyrâ, plaudat tibi, barbarus harpâ,
Græcus Achilliâcâ, *Crotta britanna* canat.”

Venant. Fort., Carm., viii., lib. 7.

The other circumstance to which reference has been made is the early use of the Welsh harp. There can be little doubt that the general form of this instrument has remained unaltered for perhaps fourteen or fifteen hundred years. It is mentioned in the “*Leges Wallicæ*,” as one of the indispensable possessions for every gentleman. Old Welsh poems and traditions speak of it as of almost fabulous antiquity. Pennant, writing in 1778, conceives that the Welsh harp had originally but nine strings, in a single row, but that it was then gradually developed to what it is now. He cites as his authority a poem written in the fifth century, in itself a sufficient proof of the antiquity of the instrument. More proofs may be found in Jones’s “*Relics of the Welsh Bards*,” for which we have no space here. The Welsh harp was a wonderfully perfect instrument for the time when it was introduced, for it consists of three parallel sets of strings, of which the two outermost are tuned in unison, and in the diatonic major scale of C, while the inner set is tuned to the semitones, thus presenting a complete chromatic scale, and suggesting most forcibly the ideas of modern harmony, and modulation. And that harmony was used by the ancient harpists of Wales is further shown by some very curious specimens of exercises for the harp, some of which Dr. Burney has printed in the second volume of his “*History of Music*,” pp. 112, 113, and which are taken from an old manuscript in Welsh, which is also cited by Bunting in his “*Dissertation on the Harp*.” At the beginning of this manuscript is a notice which is here reproduced. “The following manuscript is the music of the Britons, as settled by a congress or meeting of the masters of music, by order of Griffyd ap Cynan, Prince of Wales, about A.D. 1100, with some of the most ancient pieces of the Britons, supposed to have been handed to us from the British Druids, in two parts (that is, base and treble), for the harp. This manuscript was wrote by Robert ap Haw, of Bodwigan, in Anglesey, in Charles the First’s time, some of it copied then out of William Penhyn’s book.” This William Penhyn was one of the successful candidates at an Eisteddfod, held in the ninth year of Queen Elizabeth’s reign, at Caerwys, in North Wales.

We may then conclude fairly from these premises that in Wales real harmony was popularly in use long before it was admitted into the service of the Church or recognised by writers of musical treatises. Nor were the Saxons devoid of musical skill, although it is probable that they were not the equals, in this matter, of the Celts whom they supplanted in England. Amongst our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, however, as elsewhere in Western and Northern Europe, we find that popular and secular song was greatly in advance of Church music, both in respect of originality of melody and harmonic accompaniment. It appears, from the old Saxon poem of *Beowulf*, which was written before the Saxons came to this country, that music was a favourite amusement amongst them, and was used habitually at their banquets. And this music was both vocal and instrumental, the usual accompaniment being that of the harp. They had several other instruments in use, moreover, such as the psaltery, the viol or fydele, the rote or crote, with pipes and tabors, trumpets, cymbals, and drums of various shapes; and above all the organ, in a rudimentary form, was certainly known in the time of St. Dunstan, who constructed one himself in the tenth century. Indeed, this instrument is referred to by Aldhelm, who died 709, in these lines:—

“Maxima millenis auscultans organa flabris
Mulceat auditum ventosis follibus iste,
Quamlibet auratis fulgescant cætera capsis,”

which would seem to show that the pipes were *gilded* then as at present. But the largest organ recorded in Anglo-Saxon times was one at Winchester, erected towards the end of the tenth century. A poetical description of this is given by the monk Wulstan, and printed in Rimbault and Hopkins's “*History of the Organ*,” 3rd ed., pp. 20, 21, also in Wackerbarth's “*Music and the Anglo-Saxons*,” pp. 12—15. The latter author tries to show that this organ must have had keys and stops like those of our own day; but Rimbault has conclusively proved that this could not have been the case, as in a treatise by a monk named Theophilus, on the construction of organs, reprinted in Rimbault's work, and originally written early in the eleventh century, no mention of keys, registers, or draw-stops is to be found.

But the Saxons not only indulged in instrumental music. They also

encouraged minstrelsy of song. The glee-men of those days were the true forerunners of the minstrels and troubadours of a succeeding age. Our good King Alfred was a great proficient in poetry and music; indeed, his restoration to the throne after his defeat by the Danes, followed by his retirement and supposed death, was brought to pass mainly by his skill as a harper and singer. He determined to penetrate into the Danish camp disguised as a harper or glee-man. This he succeeded in doing undetected. "His harp and his talent excited notice; he was admitted to the royal tables, heard the secret counsels of his foes, and beheld their exposed position unsuspected. He left the encampment and reached Etheling Island in security. It was now Whitsuntide. He despatched confidential messengers to his principal friends in the three adjacent counties, Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Somersetshire, announcing his existence, requiring them secretly to collect their followers, and to meet him in military array on the east of Selwood Forest."* All this was carried out successfully, and the Danes were consequently attacked by surprise and utterly routed. Some writers have referred to the works of our great Saxon divine and historian, the Venerable Bede, to show that he also may be claimed as an authority on matters musical, on account of the treatise on music to be found in the first volume of the Cologne edition of his collected works. But it has been conclusively proved by M. Bottée de Toulmon that this treatise was really written by a musician of the twelfth century, whose *nom de plume* was Aristotle. But still, enough has been said to prove that music, both vocal and instrumental, was cultivated by the Anglo-Saxons. Among the Danes also music was in equal repute; indeed, had it not been so, Alfred's ruse to enter the Danish camp could not have led to a successful issue. But besides this, we know that the same stratagem was employed subsequently by the Danish King Anlaff, in order to reconnoitre the camp of our Saxon King Athelstan. On this occasion, however, the result was not so successful, for a soldier having reported that the supposed harper had been seen to bury the money he had received as a guerdon (either through conscientious scruples or from superstition), investigations were made which exposed the deception which had been practised, and averted its consequences. On the whole, then, we may conclude, from a consideration of the facts which have come under our notice, that the ancient

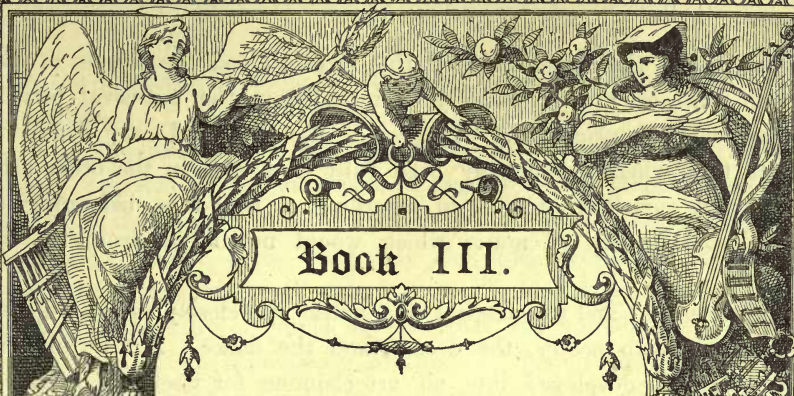
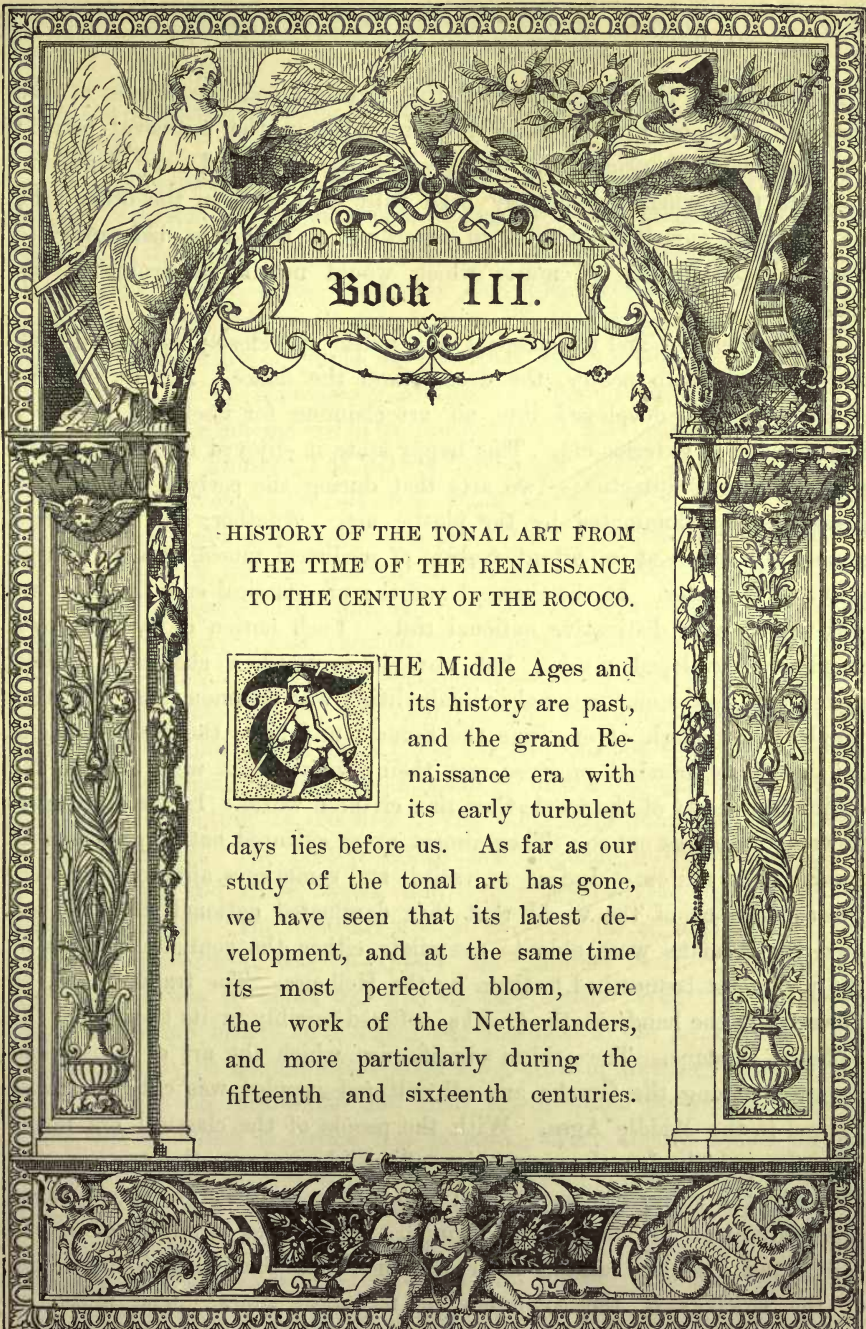
* Sharon Turner's "History of the Anglo-Saxons," vol. i., p. 262 (ed. 1807).

Britons were more musical than the Saxons, and that the Danes were almost their equals. Nor were the Normans inferior to the races they conquered; indeed, they were originally of the same northern extraction themselves, for they were the descendants of the old Scandinavian tribes, among whom the Scalds, or ancient Bards, had already achieved a great renown before Rollo, afterwards called Roland, made his descent upon Northern France. As Mr. Chappell truly observes:—"Many of those men no doubt accompanied him to the Duchy of Normandy, and left behind them successors in their art, so that when his descendant William invaded this kingdom in 1066, he and his followers were sure to favour the establishment of the minstrel profession here, rather than suppress it; indeed, we read that at the battle of Hastings there was in William's army a valiant warrior, named Taillefer, distinguished no less for the minstrel arts than for his courage and intrepidity. This man, who performed the office of herald-minstrel (Menestrier Luchier), advanced at the head of the army, and with a loud voice animated his countrymen, singing a war-song of Roland . . . then rushing among the thickest of the English, and valiantly fighting, lost his life." What the melody of this Chanson Roland really was we do not exactly know. There have been published several supposed versions of it by Dr. Crotch, Sir H. Bishop, and others; but none of these can have been the original tune. It would lead us into details too minute to be of general interest were we to enumerate all the notices of minstrels and minstrelsy which are to be met with in the ancient chroniclers who tell us of the time immediately succeeding the Norman Conquest. These are mentioned, however, by Chappell, in his "Popular Music of the Olden Time," vol. i., chap. i.; and we recommend all those who feel an interest in the musical antiquities of England to read that most entertaining and trustworthy work. It may suffice us for the present to refer to two events in Richard I.'s reign. First, the discovery of that king, and his release from the Castle of Durrenstein, on the Danube, by the skill and fidelity of his minstrel, Blondel de Nesles; and second, the similar discovery and release of the captured heiress of D'Evreaux, Earl of Salisbury, from her relations in Normandy, by a knight *disguised as a harper*, who carried her off in triumph, and presented her to the king, who gave her in marriage to his natural brother, William Longespée, who thus became Earl of Salisbury in his wife's right.

But it must not be supposed that in England Church music was not cultivated alongside of the popular and secular song which we have been describing. We do not know what sort of music was sung in English churches before the year 668, but we learn from Saxon annals that in that year Pope Vitalian sent singers into Kent to instruct the people in sacred song. And from the Venerable Bede we learn also that in 680 Pope Agatho sent John, Præcentor of St. Peter's at Rome, to teach Church music to the monks of Weremouth, and that he opened schools for that purpose in various parts of the kingdom of Northumbria. There is also a tradition that King Alfred, in 866, founded a Professorship of Music at Oxford for the scientific cultivation of music. We are told, too, that when Thomas à Becket went to Paris in 1159 to negotiate the marriage between the eldest son of Henry II. and the daughter of Louis VII., he entered the French towns "preceded by two hundred and fifty boys on foot, in groups of six, ten, or more together, singing English songs, according to the custom of their country." But perhaps the most remarkable account of English singing at that date is to be found in Gerald Barry, or Giraldus Cambrensis, Archdeacon, and afterwards Bishop of St. David's, in his "*Cambriæ Descriptio*," cap. xiii. His words are as follows:—"The Britons do not sing their tunes in unison, like the inhabitants of other countries, but in different parts: so that when a company of singers meet to sing, as is usual in this country, as many different parts are heard as there are singers, who all finally unite in consonance and organic melody, under the softness of B flat. In the northern parts of Britain, beyond the Humber, and on the borders of Yorkshire, the inhabitants make use of a similar kind of symphonious harmony in singing, but with only two differences or varieties of tone and voice, the one murmuring the under part, the other singing the upper in a manner equally soft and pleasing. This they do, not so much by art as by a habit peculiar to themselves, which long practice has made almost natural; and this method of singing has taken such deep root among this people, that hardly any melody is accustomed to be uttered simply or otherwise than in many parts by the former, and in two parts by the latter. And, what is more astonishing, their children, as soon as they begin to sing, adopt the same manner. But as not all the English, but only those of the north, sing in this manner, I believe

they had this art at first, like their language, from the Danes and Norwegians who formerly occupied, and long retained possession of, those parts of the island." This passage is a strong corroboration of what we had already observed concerning the relative excellence of the Celts, the Danes, and the Saxons in the art of harmony. We hope to take up the history of the development of music in England from this point in a future chapter. Suffice it to observe that as we go on we shall see more and more of the influence exercised over the art by ecclesiastical theorists and teachers. We shall also see the gradual fusion of the secular, popular, and harmonic music with that of the Church, which was originally melodic only, and more or less antagonistic to harmony.

F. A. G. O.




Book III.

HISTORY OF THE TONAL ART FROM
THE TIME OF THE RENAISSANCE
TO THE CENTURY OF THE ROCOCO.



THE Middle Ages and its history are past, and the grand Renaissance era with its early turbulent days lies before us. As far as our study of the tonal art has gone, we have seen that its latest development, and at the same time its most perfected bloom, were the work of the Netherlanders, and more particularly during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.



True it is that the latter half of the fifteenth and the whole of the sixteenth centuries cannot properly be included in the mediæval period; but inasmuch as music is the youngest of the arts, and only begins to generate that which has already been fully developed in the other arts, we have felt ourselves justified in regarding a period as belonging to the mediæval history of music which would not be allowable in the other arts.

In the classical and pre-classical eras music was closely associated with and subservient to poetry, the drama, and the dance. But during the Middle Ages it developed into an art claiming for itself an existence independent of exterior aid. This happy state it enjoyed in common with painting and architecture—two arts that during the early ages were in a great measure dominated by the plastic art. Another, and we should almost say the most important, feature of mediæval music, was its universality of character. In the classical and the pre-classical eras the tonal art was tinged with distinctive national tints. Each nation enjoyed its own peculiarly developed music; but now it assumed a character which, excepting a few minor national individualities, was common to all Christian peoples. Although at one time the French, and later the Netherlanders, led the van of musical progress, yet their achievements were at once the common property of the whole Christian civilised world. In the early ages, however, this was not so. Then almost every cultured nation possessed its special tonal system. Indeed so varied, and sometimes antagonistic, were the conceptions of the world that then dominated national life, that not even the Romans were able to assimilate either the contents or form of the plastic art bequeathed to them by the Hellenes. The tragedy, too, so powerful in the hands of the Greeks, suffered terribly in its transfer to the bellicose Romans. The ethical significance which the art of music had acquired among the Greeks and all cultured peoples was entirely transfigured in the Middle Ages. With the people of the classical era music was the vehicle for the expression of visible nature, the seasons, the elements, the starry firmament, &c.; but in the Middle Ages it was made the medium of devotional outpourings. The innate strivings of man's spirit, and his ever seeking after the one true God, tinged the whole of the writings of the composers of mediæval times. The music of the classical and pre-classical era was that of the material world, but

with the Christian religion it was raised to the sublime regions of the immaterial.

Only in one point do we find a similarity of purpose engaging the earnest attention of the musicians of the early and Middle Ages. This was in the direction of musical speculation, a phase of the tonal art that, during the Middle Ages (especially the first two-thirds of that era), attracted a large number of gifted writers from the practice of their art to the praiseworthy attempts to construct and consolidate a system of tonal theory. The explanation of this fact is not to be sought in a lack of reverence among mediæval musicians for the theoretical treatises of the Greeks and Romans, but in the inefficiency of the transmitted grammars. Their respect for classical tradition, especially in the time of Charlemagne, would have entirely prevented them from seeking new theories; and it was not till the growth of the Mensural song that they were superseded altogether, the number of theoretical works then given to the world being equal to that supplanted. The reason for the infusion of so much energy into theoretical speculation, at two such totally opposed periods of the world's history, was not owing to any dragging influences of the Greek art on that of the early Christian religion, but because music was the only art that had not its material or means of expression already formed and waiting to be used. The other arts found their material already existing. The poet possessed his language in the vernacular of his country; and stone, wood, and colour supplied the requirements of the plastic artist. The tonal art was of necessity forced first to form the material by which it was to express and manifest itself. The language by which it was to speak was first to be created. What the sister arts found in nature had to be invented and moulded in the art of music, and this could only be accomplished after long years of untiring perseverance. Rules had to be formulated and their worth tested by practice. Every tonal system which a nation has invented, every theory which an age has erected, every treatise in which musicians have propounded their doctrines, are but indications of the innumerable stages by which a perfected system of tonal theory and practice has been attained. The musician had to construct the vehicle for logical utterance which the poet already possessed in the philosophy and grammar of his mother-tongue, and which the plastic artist enjoyed in the laws of nature,

gravitation, perspective, and the organic membering of the whole visible world and its created beings. How many long years of striving did it not take the Egyptians, Hindoos, and Chinese to fix even a normal tone and to form their initiatory scales? For how many years did not the Pythagoreans give themselves over to the mathematical systematising of tonal intervals and their vibrations? And to what useless ramblings were not the Greek theorists led by their painfully laboured enharmonic scale, which has now fallen into desuetude? And what re-arrangements of the old scales were not rendered necessary before Gregory was able to use them for his service? And even after all this earnest striving of countless years, what had the tonal theory accomplished? Had it arrived at even a fair state of perfection? No; new and great efforts were still required. The growth of the Mensural song and polyphony gave to musical outline—*i.e.*, the melody—depth, contents, and body. Now was it required of the musicians to systematise and formulate into a grammar for the whole musical world and future generations the knowledge they had thus gained in the development of popular song. And it was not till the Netherland era that the mass of musical elements first began to be classified and arranged. The first two periods of this school were devoted to the improvement and perfection of the laws of the old French system, the value of which they enhanced tenfold. What Arkadelt, Brumel, and Josquin foreshadowed found its completion in works of almost all their successors, especially after the time of Gombert. With this master music entered upon a new existence. It might be said that then—*i.e.*, towards the close of the mediæval period—it had reached a state of comparatively brilliant perfection capable of the fullest poetical expression. It had created, after thousands of years, a material, and evolved a language peculiarly its own property, by which it could express itself freely and intelligibly to all.

Therefore, with the consideration of the epoch on the threshold of which we now stand, music has assumed a totally different aspect. It was now no longer embarrassed with the want of adequate means of expression, but, provided with a technique full of vitality, it stood ready for its future work. Important historical events and the influx of newly-acquired cultured lore which had hitherto exercised its power from afar, or given it but a faint impetus, influenced it from the moment that it

stood proudly forward as an independent art in a far more powerful manner than it had been possible in previous years when struggling to establish a firm basis on which to stand, and when it must have been much less sensitive to all the influences of extraneous circumstances.

Now for the first time are we confronted with music as a free, self-relying art. It has shaken off its subserviency to the other arts, and has acquired a material vitality that invigorates it with a strength enabling it to go on its way without concern of worldly events. Yet it was not strong enough of itself to take its place in the cultus of civilisation. It required still an accession of inherent vitality to enable it to free itself from the shackles that kept it, as an art, outside the world's progress, and to bring it into immediate contact with that powerful stream of advancement that overran the Middle Ages and gave birth to the new epoch—the Renaissance.

The first, and we might say the most important event that affected the tonal art, shaking it almost to its very foundations, was the Reformation. The struggles of Luther dealt a heavy blow to Church-music of the hitherto strict form. The effect was observable not so much in an altered practice as in the new character music now assumed. It will be readily conceded that the great upheaval of all former Christian notions, and the entire reversal of the European conceptions of the world, must have greatly influenced the style of Church musical composition. So far-reaching were the teachings of the reformers that with the lapse of centuries, an art, science, and literature, distinctly Protestant in their characteristics, were created, strongly contrasted with their Catholic origin. Music acquired a very distinctive Protestant character. But the evangelical art that sprang up at the time of the Reformation arose less from a want of concord with existing forms than from a new conception of certain fundamental principles of Christianity which hitherto had been treated in a manner strictly Catholic. The Reformation itself was the outcome of an accession of new thoughts and new discoveries that considerably enlarged the intellectual horizon of humanity. The achievements of science that added so much to our knowledge of the solar system, the finding of America, the opening up of the new waterway to the East Indies, the discovery of gunpowder, and the invention of printing, combined with the resuscitation and popularising of the art

works of classical antiquity, and the enlarged and enlightened humanitarian principles that had swayed the intellectual world from the fourteenth century, generated the Renaissance, inducing an elevated social refinement and preparing the way for that great upheaval of religious thought out of which the Reformation was evolved. Such a complete revolution in the intellectual and social world could not but have exercised a great influence on the progress of art. And thus it was that the art of music, which up to the present had been of all the arts the most foreign to the social existence of man, now received as it were its first breath of civilisation.

The era in which these important historical events occurred, so full of moment to the tonal art, might be included in that which we have long since regarded as the Renaissance, followed by the Baroque and the Rococo periods. We are led to this conclusion by the most positive evidences. Changes that were then brought about in architecture, sculpture, and painting, as regards form, construction, and identity, find their indisputable counterparts in the tonal compositions of that period. The Baroque and Rococo were evolved in music from the same internal causes that had earlier influenced the other arts.

The evolution of the degenerated Baroque and Rococo from a refined art style has a deeper historical significance than would at first appear. In the early days of the great intellectual and social revolution, the multitudinous ideas generated by the accession of so much learning infused into the art of music a vitality which it had never previously enjoyed. The regenerated art brought forth abundantly in inventive power and new form. But later, from about the end of the seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth century, when the enthusiasm for revived classical antiquity began to decline, there was an attempt to compensate for the absence of constructive genius by multiplicity of contrivance, a way ready to hand by reason of the newly-acquired elements generated by the Renaissance, but which became distorted and forced. This constrained artificiality was naturally more easily discernible in the more matured arts—architecture, sculpture, and poetry. But it was not long before music also became infected with the same factitiousness. The craze for the classical on the one hand, and what was incorrectly termed the “natural” on the other, developed a mannerism and affectation that produced a

superficiality in the former and an *unnaturalness* in the latter. A work was considered classical if it preserved the names and outward resemblances only of the tales of Greek mythology. Their conception, too, of the natural was most one-sided and narrow-minded; indeed, it often led them so far from what was true that they called that natural which was in reality its complete inversion. Only such a perverse affectation can explain their draping of swains and rural nymphs in velvets and satins, and making them speak the polished elegances of princely discourse. The fanciful distortion of trees, too, into pyramids and various kinds of animals all betray an aberration ending in a degenerating art. This perverted tendency showed itself in music in a shallowness of form and a lavish embellishment by superfluous ornamentation, by which they sought to hide the absence of intellectual contents.

Following the development of art generally, of which music forms a part, at the end of the Middle Ages as we have attempted to sketch it, we shall divide our third book into two sections, corresponding with these two subdivisions. The first will deal with the tonal art, its expansion and the impetus it received from the enlightened humanitarian principles of the Reformation, and the influence of the classical revival, with its æsthetic poetry and chaste plastic art. The second will show us music leaving the high road of those polyphonic principles by which it had reached its independence during the Middle Ages, to adopt an affected artificiality ending in tasteless decoration and unnatural mannerism. But it is with satisfaction that we observe the inherent strength of our art, so that notwithstanding these deplorable aberrations, it never entirely forsook the path that was to lead ultimately to its latest stage of perfection, a highway that had been opened up for it by the grand natural tone-masters of the twelfth century. The first departure from the grammar compiled with so much care through countless years occurred, as might almost be expected, among the impressionable masters of the south of Europe. In the north there were those whose isolation kept them aloof from the degenerate tendencies of the south. Intuitively they felt themselves on the right road, and they never swerved from that path which they felt to be the only true way to musical appropriateness.

But we are now about to concern ourselves with a period of the tonal art which well deserves to be regarded as one of real blossom. Even more

than the grand work accomplished by the Netherland school, this epoch will prove that the endeavour to form and consolidate a theory that should help to a perfected musical practice was but the metamorphosis of the chrysalis into the golden butterfly, winged for flight into the region of a higher and purer ideality. And the land from which music, pinioned for its successful flight, rose to the ether of a pure tonality was Italy.



THE TONAL ART INFLUENCED BY THE TEACHINGS OF THE EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.



IF we were to examine closely the history of civilisation, we should find that the two most antagonistic conceptions of the world were those of the Early and Middle Ages. And as it is with the world's history, so is it with the tonal art. The musical historian has observed that the music of these two periods is of two distinct kinds. The art is presented under two aspects so dissimilar, and bearing such pronounced peculiarities, that of themselves they indicate two distinct epochs. But the keen observer who enters into the study of music with the determination to penetrate below the surface of the two epochs, will discover a substratum common to both. That which was apparently so totally opposed will present a homogeneousness of construction, and notwithstanding the many superficial dissimilarities it will be found to be tinged with the same ground-tone, and chiselled as it were out of the same block.

That which was a necessity to the existence of art, viz., the systematising of undigested theory and formulation, a completion of suggested rules, was brought about in the era of Renaissance by the fusion of the teachings of the Early and Middle Ages. Prior to the thirteenth century this was not possible; but from the Renaissance, and more especially from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, the acquisition of so much that was new in science and literature, &c., prepared the ground for the speedy sowing and realisation. It was in this era that Luther appeared, and that new discoveries began to work startling changes in man's conception of the universe, leading ultimately to the subversion of the Papal sway. The

names of Columbus, Galileo, and Copernicus will at once present themselves to the student as those of men to whose indefatigable exertions we are indebted for an enlarged and extended knowledge of our world. Hitherto the most erroneous notions of this terrestrial sphere were prevalent, but with the discoveries and teachings of the energetic men whom we have named, people no longer thought of this earth as a fixed sphere, but saw it as the satellite of a more powerful body, round which it revolved in endless space. With the opening of this new and enlightened era, the natural concomitant of a third world's period dawns on the horizon of humanity. The new conception of the unfathomableness of the universe, the enthusiasm for the revived art of the Greeks, and the influence of mediæval culture, produced an agitation that has no parallel in the world's history since the overthrow of the effete Roman empire by Christianity.

It cannot be a matter of surprise to us that, now that the teachings of the Early and Middle Ages were brought into such prominent juxtaposition, contradictions, apparently irreconcilable, appear side by side with theories and doctrines that find their consummation in the utterances of mediæval thinkers. Leaving the world's events and confining ourselves to art alone, we find that the assimilation of early teachings took place sooner than other elements of culture. The reconciliations which were brought about in science, in politics, and in the life of states and peoples, after long contentious strivings, took place in art at a much earlier period. The apostles of art seem to have been gifted with the power of prophetic working. The spirit of the early teachers of art was caught up by their mediæval successors, and infused into their own work in a manner that was not possible in any branch of literature or science. We have no difficulty in tracing in the art-works of this period the completed fusion of classical and mediæval elements, or that progressive state in which apparently contradictory teachings were soon to find their reconciliation. In the sixteenth century we have the erection of St. Peter's at Rome, Michael Angelo's plastic group depicting the Virgin Mary tenderly watching the sleeping Babe on her lap, Raphael's Madonna in the Sixtine Chapel, and Titian's celebrated painting, "The Tribute Money"—all of them works in which the classical and mediæval, the antique and Christian, the divine and human, are combined and used in a harmonious manner that was only possible in art. In the history

of States the clashing of the teachings of these two epochs, even as late as the seventeenth century, was so violent as to bring about the terrible Thirty Years' War that raged throughout the length and breadth of Europe, and also the Seven Years' and the Seven Weeks' Wars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Parallel cases are also to be met with in the other cultured phases of humanity. The contentious struggles in natural science, philosophy, and theology have not, even at the present time, been settled. Out of such endless contests has arisen that series of political revolutions of which France is the hotbed, and which began as early as the fifteenth century. One of the most reliable chroniclers of the first and most terrible of these political upheavals says:* "One of the principal causes that brought about the Revolution of 1790 A.D. was the rebellion of Luther against the authority of the Pope." Theology, natural science, and philosophy, with their contradictory teachings, await to-day that reconciliation which a few art-masters as early as the sixteenth century, and certainly the eighteenth century, had already effected. What Raphael, Shakespeare, and Goethe accomplished in the pure and noble regions of art, clothing the ideal with a tangible form, and gaining for it a language and expression, politics and social life anxiously await. They still lack a reconciliation of the material with the spiritual, and these contradictory elements will only be brought into harmonious concord by the practice of self-denial and an anxious striving to act up to the grand teachings of the Christian religion.

This apparent digression is necessary to a proper understanding of the position of the tonal art at the opening of the third epoch of its existence. We are now about to discuss music as it was among the people of Western Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But as music was the youngest of the arts, we cannot anticipate a reconciliation of heterogeneous and contradictory art elements such as we experienced in architecture a century earlier, and which the art-world has designated the Renaissance. Urbino, the great master of that period, did not only attempt such a fusion, but was so successful that he reconciled and harmonised what had hitherto been considered as the most antagonistic of art elements, proving thereby that such a reconciliation was possible.

We have ever kept before the reader the youthfulness of music as

* Lamartine, preface to vol. i. of "*L'Histoire des Girondins*."

compared with the other arts, and in this will he find the key to the changes that occurred during this period. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, music, even as a purely Christian art, had achieved only half what the other arts had accomplished. The unalterable laws of organic development demand that every art should attain its perfection uninfluenced by the standpoint of observation of another art. It must begin from the beginning and traverse the whole route by its own unaided light. What architecture, sculpture, poetry, and painting had achieved since their embodiment of the principles of Christian art, and this was certainly their more important half, music had yet to accomplish.* The tonal art at this period was employed almost exclusively in the service of the Church, and how was it possible that it could assimilate elements which, though classical, were none the less heathenish?

But the case stands differently with other phases of the tonal art, which now attempts to accomplish it for the first time. Should we not, however, meet in these a fusion of the art cultures of the two opposed epochs, we shall find either one or the other, according to which reigned pre-eminent in social life at the time, permeating the music of that era. The art of music presented two sides which were peculiarly liable to be affected by either Early or Middle Age culture. These were the Oratorio and the musical drama, both then in their initiatory stages. Instrumental music, too, was just beginning to assert itself as an independent phase of the tonal art. It was just now that it made a great effort to free itself from the vocal *a capella* style, and in a great measure it was successful, replacing its subserviency by an ascendancy in social life.† In the Oratorio we shall become acquainted with the epic element as evolved by the Italian masters of the last part of the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth centuries out of the fusion of Israelitic and classical musical theories. In the musical drama we have exhibited in the most striking manner the influence of the Renaissance; indeed, the poetry of the Greek tragedy, which was first pressed into the service

* "Tonkunst in der Culturgeschichte," by E. Naumann. (1869.)

† The instrumental music referred to here must not be confounded with that which formed the scanty accompaniment to the music of the people, *i.e.*, folk-music performed by the wayfaring minstrels and town pipers. Neither do we regard the organ as "instrumental" music, as the organ was also used formerly as an accompaniment only for vocal song.

of the musical drama, seems pre-eminently to invite a musical treatment. And the assertion of music as a self-relying art is further shown in instrumental music too, which began to unfold itself at this period, severing its subservient connection with its elder sister—poetry.

It was during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that the music of the peoples of Central Europe began first to show signs of national characteristics, features which we will show it was hardly possible for it to have evinced during the Middle Ages. In Europe, especially from the time of Gregory the Great, we have the spectacle of one Christian faith opposed to the whole heathen world. All the votaries of this one faith, no matter what their nationality, worshipped the same God, and, with but faint variations, in the same manner. And thus it was that in the Middle Ages there existed but one Christian art, the disciples of which, under whatever sky they were born, were but as shades of the same colour. This might be made clear by a comparison of the works of the oldest *Christian* Italian, Flemish, German, and French painters and sculptors, *i.e.*, of the works of the art-masters of these nations who flourished at a time prior to the thirteenth century. The principles of architecture, with all the cultured people of Central Europe without exception, were the same; first came the Romanic and then the Gothic style, adopted by all peoples in their general character and form. The slight variations, the outcome of nationality, have quite a subsidiary importance, and are observable to the connoisseur and the discriminating layman only. All that we have asserted in reference to art generally is still more decidedly applicable to music. During the Middle Ages distinct waves of thought and theory swept over the tonal art wherever it had taken root. First we have the Ambrosian and then the Gregorian chant, with which were intimately connected the Organum and the Diaphony. All these theories exercised a sway over the art wherever it was to be found. The first indication that we have of a special national colouring appears in the compositions of the French masters of the Middle Ages, collected and brought to light for the first time as the works of a special school in this history. This was followed by its two offshoots, the Gallo-Belgic and the Netherland. But even these national colourings are but of very moderate tint, and indeed might be more correctly regarded as special theoretical laws (and the polyphonic style growing

out of such), rather than as decided individualities exclusively peculiar to the people. They constituted part of the general development of musical art rather than the individual expression of a particular people. This will explain why the theories, art-forms, and musical expression developed by the Gallo-Belgians and Netherlanders became the general property of all the nations of Central Europe. The compositions of Palestrina, notwithstanding the master's decided individuality, Italian origin, and also that he belonged to the sixteenth century, have not prevented them from being confounded with the writings of his Netherland predecessors and contemporaries, so much do they resemble in every detail the models of the Flemish school. We might also say that the same family likeness exists between the works of some German and Netherland masters. Heinrich Isaac and Ludwig Senfel, two German composers, bear in their writings a striking affinity to the Netherlanders Josquin and Pierre de la Rue, the special national tendencies of the masters being discernible more by the professor than the layman.

Such a similarity of form, style, and expression, effacing almost all traces of national peculiarity, we shall find drawing to a close in the period upon which we are now about to enter. But this cessation did not take place in every department of the tonal art at the same time. In sacred music this sameness of form, &c., survived longer than in any other kind. National characteristics are to be found in the most decided manner in the art-forms generated during this period, viz., the oratorio and the musical drama, and we would add in instrumental music also, after it had emancipated itself from subordination to the voice.

In certain provinces and capitals sacred music also was susceptible to the influences of the cultured streams of the new epoch. This was why in the last chapter we pointed to the foundation of the school of sacred art at Venice by the Netherlander Willaert with a decided individual character. Rome and Naples could also boast of a sacred characteristic school. And in these three schools it will be observed we have peoples of the same nationality, *i.e.*, the Italians, with different styles and individual characteristics, whilst during the period that the Netherland school reigned over Europe, not even whole nations, *e.g.*, the French, Italians, Spanish, and Portuguese, exhibited as much divergence of style as did the people of Venice, Rome, and Naples.

It was in the beginning of this new period that music received a most powerful impetus from the invention of the art of printing. Composers saw now within their reach a wider circle of disciples, and were consequently spurred on to new works, and the dilettanti began to possess greater facilities for acquainting themselves with the writings of the masters. We have already referred to the publication of several compositions with printed notes: the first masters whose works were thus issued were Duchemin, Van Boes, and Petrucci. Of Petrucci and other early masters whose compositions had the advantage of being printed, we shall speak later on.

In conclusion, we would draw attention to the fact that the rise of the national school of Italy and the decline of the Netherland school belong to one and the same period. If we have treated these two nations in separate chapters, it has not been because of their different nationality, but because the Italians began with the sixteenth century a supremacy in the musical world that lasted for 200 years, whilst the Netherlanders in the same century terminated a leadership that had begun long before.

CHAPTER XIII.

LUTHER AND THE MUSIC OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCH.

THE influences that Luther is usually supposed to have exercised over the tonal art have never up to the present been rightly estimated. The work of the great Reformer in this direction, owing to the bigoted partisanship of its critics, has been most erroneously judged. The antagonistic religious standpoints from which it has been viewed have led Roman Catholics and Protestants to the extremes of denunciatory and laudatory criticism. The Papists vehemently asserted that nothing new was added to the music of the Church, and declared that all that was claimed as new was to be found already in the old Gregorian *Cantus choralis*. As to style and contrapuntal working, they even said that better was to be met with in the polyphonic compositions of the older Church masters. Indeed, to such a length did they carry this party spirit, that they denied to every work from the pen of a master of the Reformed Church even an

equality with those of the early masters. This feeling has been perpetuated down to our own time, although now one might expect that a more impartial and generous treatment would be extended to an opponent. A modern German historian has, in the most positive manner, denied the authenticity of two chorales hitherto attributed to Luther.* And what the Protestants in their misguided zeal have claimed for Luther is even more irrational than that denied him by the Roman Catholics. They speak of him in the most eulogistic language. They call him the Palestrina of Germany, the founder of German tonal art, and the man to whose sole efforts the improved music of the Church is owing. And it is surprising, too, to observe that even so valuable a musical historian as Von Winterfeld cannot free himself entirely from this religious bias. But the changes which were wrought by Luther in the tonal art cannot be properly estimated from either of these points of view. A higher and more independent standpoint is necessary—that of a universal Christian art unshackled by the narrow-mindedness of sectarianism. Neither must we, in our endeavours to judge fairly the work of the Reformer, be led astray by the enthusiasm of the musician; our judgment must be such a one as shall be as high above that of the musical professor as it must be beyond that of the religious partisan. From this elevated and pure standpoint we observe that what one has been accustomed to ascribe to the Reformation had already been originated and partially developed in the Middle Ages, and therefore at a time when the conflicting dogmas of Romanism and Protestantism were yet unborn. All misconceptions, and consequently erroneous judgments, have arisen when considering the relative influences of Catholic and Evangelical doctrine upon the progress of art, either from the desire on the one side to depreciate the accession of the enlightened elements from which the Reformation was evolved, or on the other to exaggerate that which produced a religion of which Protestants are the exponents. Again, it has hitherto been the practice—and we can only deplore such one-sidedness—to regard music apart from the general progress of art, as if it were not a constituent element of

* *Vide* Wilhelm Bäumker's "History of the Tonal Art in Germany, from its First Beginnings up to the Time of the Reformation," published by Herder, Freiburg, in Breisgau, 1881. From Boc's "Journal of Music" of the 2nd March, 1882, we learn that Mr. Bäumker holds the appointment of Chaplain at Niederkruchten.

a complete art-culture. Such a proceeding is as if, in a consideration of the growth of our mental life, we looked upon one special phase of it as unconnected and outside the influence of the general development. Music has been looked upon as an art quite apart by itself, and as bearing no relation to any branch of culture. There were some thinkers, however, who, at the time that the humanitarian principle had taken deep root in the social life of the comparatively educated classes, divided the period of the world's history from the time when Hellenic philosophy ruled mankind to the Reformation into two epochs, which we now know under the names of the Classical Era and the Middle Ages. In art, too, they did the same. In their view there existed two distinctly separated art-epochs, which they termed Greek and Christian. But Christian art did not, as is often believed, cease with the beginning of the fifteenth century, it has continued far into modern times. This applies with greater force to the tonal art, which, as a Christian art, entered with the birth of Sebastian Bach on the last stage of a development that had 700 years ago begun in the French capital. The acorn seed then sown in Paris had grown with grand old Bach into an oak of gigantic dimensions, among whose branches the sweet songs as of birds were heard. Between the polyphonic style of the old Catholic master Busnois and that of the Evangelical Bach there is nothing that the musical historian could lay his finger on and say this is Catholic and that Protestant. The harmonic and contrapuntal working of the one are the germs crystallised and consolidated by the other. The one indicated what the other accomplished. The writings of Busnois were the starting-point to the goal of Bach. Their art-technique and art-ideal were the same. And so it was with the spirit that brought about the Reformation. In its innermost depths it was not an anti-Catholic one, but a freer interpretation of accepted dogmas. It was foreshadowed by countless indications in the Romish Church itself, just because that was the only Church then in existence. The beginning and the end, new religion and new art, can only seem antagonistic to him who is unable to trace the mental thread that runs through the whole Church-life of the Middle Ages, and who fails to observe the common principles, though differing in degree, that unite an Arian with a Savonarola and a Huss, and these again with a Luther.

The first unmistakable signs of the coming reformation in art-life are

to be found in the older arts, and chief among these stood architecture. From the earliest days of the Middle Ages architecture seems ever to have striven to rise higher and higher from its basis or ground-line. "Excelsior! excelsior!" appears to have been the motto of its artists. And from this upward tendency they sought to develop new and varied art-forms. These newly-invented and freely-developed offshoots find their counterpart in the bolder independent development of religious conceptions; the desire to be no longer tied and bound by the rites and ceremonies of a bygone generation. Thus the flat Roman basilica, the chief feature of which was its prominent horizontal line, gradually became so altered and raised in the Catholic churches of Germany as finally to be capped with towers, which in their turn were surmounted with the crucifix pointing to the heavens. These additions, and their concomitant multiplicity of form and style, were conceived among a people in whose minds the ferment of reformation had already begun to work, and which in the minds of the tradition-steeped Italians had never been thought of.

The columns and ceilings of the churches of Northern Europe, designed at this period, exhibit what is known to-day as the *Transition* style. Its characteristic richness of details and their systematic arrangement, together with what may be termed its general *upward* tendency, prepared the way for the Gothic style, wherein all these elements find their due proportion and proper place. Arguing from a religious basis, we may assert that the growth of Gothic shows all the signs of the growing Protestant spirit. The natural development of the Gothic cathedral was a heavy blow to the worship of images. Increased power over architectural form and style rendered the introduction of pictures into the service of the Church unnecessary. Where the walls were formerly adorned with pictorial illustrations of Bible teaching, architectural embellishment began to reign supreme. Both sculpture and painting were now restricted in the service of the Church. Whereas formerly they had been the chief elements in the structure, now they were subordinate, and only of service as ornaments to its style and principle. This principle was the complete spiritualising of matter; the symbolising of the Word, that "God is a spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth;" or, in the words of Schiller, "above the starry firmament there lives a loving Father." This restless striving to etherealise matter was now the chief end and purpose of architec-

ture. Formerly utility and appropriateness were its guiding principles, but these gave place to a craving for the symbolical, which has been carried to such an extent that, when we reflect, it must, notwithstanding its apparent unsuitableness, command our praise. It literally forced its material—*i.e.*, stone—from its primary purpose of utility, to the structure of light and graceful forms rising upwards to the sky, a service clearly the opposite to the ordinary uses of the material. This was the yearning after the immeasurable and infinite. No style of art so persistently adopts an emblematical characteristic sign as the Gothic does its cross of Calvary. The cross is the distinguishing feature of Gothic architecture. It dominates everything, both inside and outside the building, from the altar to the top of the steeple. And who is there who will not readily admit that in this, the elevation of the cross is the foreshadowing of that Protestant faith wherein the Passion and Death of our Lord are the chief features, as contrasted with the previous adoration of the Virgin and Saints? The sufferings of Christ permeated all phases of the new art. They concentered themselves as the very essence of music, poetry, and the plastic arts. This is the unmistakable mood reflected throughout the works of Christopher Bach and his nephew Sebastian, the two great Protestant masters of the tonal art. The double-choir motet of the former, "I wrestle and pray," and the vocal, piano, and organ fugues of Sebastian, induce such a holy feeling of adoration and love for the crucified Saviour as none of the writings of the early masters had prompted.

The union of French and German art during the last centuries of the Middle Ages also seems to us to furnish another proof that Protestant art was but a continuation of Catholic art. Both the Gothic and fugal styles sprung up, as we know, in Catholic Paris; but their latest and most perfect development was on Protestant ground. Notwithstanding the imposing grandeur of the cathedrals of Nôtre Dame and St. Denis, we cannot divest ourselves of a certain sense of heaviness and incompleteness of style which contrast curiously with that induced by the minsters of Cologne and Freiburg. The bold and towering steeples of the latter rising majestically towards heaven suggest a sense of completeness that is absent when we gaze on the square turrets of Nôtre Dame. And as it is with architecture so is it with music. The comparison of Nôtre Dame and the Cologne minster finds its parallel in the double counterpoint of

the old Parisian masters and the yet unapproached fugues of the great Sebastian Bach.*

Evidences of the approaching Evangelical spirit are not wanting also in the Catholic sculpture of the Middle Ages. And it is a curious coincidence that these should be found principally on reliefs, groups of figures, porches, portals, and niches and pillars of those churches most directly related to the Gothic style. On the reliefs of the Frauenkirche at Esslingen; and the Church of St. Sebald at Nuremburg, devils are depicted rudely clutching popes and bishops and thrusting them into hell-fire. Such, we would almost say, offensive references to the degrading treatment of the papal clergy do not at all seem to have affected the faith of believers. Dante, the greatest poet of the Middle Ages and a pillar of the Roman Catholic Church, was not prevented by his faith from aiding the German Emperor in his struggle to overthrow the authority of the Pope; nor did he scruple to reproach the clergy with their shortcomings. And neither did Luther refrain from denouncing the worldliness of the priesthood, and their arbitrary interpretation of the Gospel; and this, be it remembered, while yet a monk, and at a time when he had no thought of separating himself from the Church of Rome. If we regard these evidences in the right light, we must admit that the opposing elements of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism were very faint. And so it was with art. That which a few fanatical enthusiasts point to as distinctive features of Roman Catholic or of Evangelical art have really no existence but in their own excited imagination, inflamed by the passion of bigotry.†

* The Gothic style in Germany was not moulded directly and exclusively on the lines of Parisian art. It was aided by the Romanesque and the Transition styles, both of which forms existed in the cathedrals at Spire, Worms, and Mayence. And so was it with the fugues of Bach. Their polyphony was not based directly on the counterpoint of the old Parisian masters, but more immediately on that of the renowned Italian organists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—Frescobaldi, Claudio Merulo, Alessandro Poglietti, and Pasquini, who, of course, had first modelled their style on that of the Parisian school, colouring it with their own individuality.

† It is clear, that what remained in the service of the Church of the adoration of saints and the worship of images formed no part of the Protestant faith, as Protestantism arose partly, at first, from its antagonism to these elements, rigorously excluding from its service all matters of a kindred nature. This divergence must not, however, be attributed to any supposed antagonistic spirit of Roman Catholic and Evangelical art, but more to their common historical development, which, instead of causing two streams of art to flow forth, rather

The plays of the Middle Ages, too, afford a deep insight into the religious feeling of the times. The "Thuringian Mystery, or the Parable of the Ten Virgins," performed at Eisenach, in Thuringia, for the first time on April 24, 1322 (therefore two centuries prior to the Reformation), is perhaps the most striking of all. It also deserves a special reference at our hands as being one of the oldest works of its kind in which a greater importance was assigned to music than had hitherto been the practice, owing to the prominence given to the choruses introduced into the play. In the Mystery it was sought to show that prayers to saints, and even to the Virgin, are of no avail to save a soul from the judgment of Jehovah. That which a penitent man could not gain by atonement during life was not attainable by intercessory prayers and supplications in the last hour. This is the lesson most powerfully taught in the Thuringian drama. The foolish virgins are seen supplicating the mother of God to intercede for them. Mary pleads with her Son for the suppliants, but is rebuked by Christ in the following words:—

"Be still, mother dear, I command thee;
For this prayer of thine cannot be."

And who, it will be asked, were the writers of this sacred play? Certainly not heretics, but ordained priests of the Romish Church. From evidence which we shall adduce, it must have been both written and composed either by an Augustinian monk of Erfurt, or a Dominican of Eisenach. Latin documents are still extant, from which it appears that the play was performed by preaching monks and monastic students.*

connected them indeed, inasmuch as the child-like piety of the early Christian era was transformed into a less circumscribed and more elevated worship.

* The oldest authentic document relating to the play of the "Ten Virgins" is the "*Chronicon Sancti Petri, vulgo Sampetrinum Erfurtense: Anno Domini MCCCXXII., feria secunda post misericordias Domini, dum in eadem die dominica dedicatio fuisset praedicatorum, ludus est factus apud Isenach in orto ferarum* (should be: in *horto ferarum*) a clericis et a scholaribus, de decem virginibus, cui ludo marchio tunc intererat." Hieronymus Tilesius republished the play at Eisleben, in 1565, and in a preface asserts that it was written by an officiating mass-priest named Theodorich Schernberk. A modern German poet, Ludwig Bechstein (see a paper bearing the date 1855 in the Wartburg Library), pronounces the work to be that of a Thuringian poet, and most likely, therefore, one of the monks of Eisenach; and in reference to this latter possibility he says "there can be no doubt." The words of the old chronicle of 1522, "*dum in eadem die dominica dedicatio fuisset praedicatorum,*" evidently refer to the dedication of the Dominican church at Eisenach, and was probably the earliest representation

The pointed teaching of the "Mystery," that God allowed of no mediation between Him and fallen man, seems almost prophetic in its foreshadowing one of the cardinal features of the doctrine taught by Luther 186 years after the first performance of the play. And it is a curious and at the same time remarkable coincidence that the play should have been performed for the first time to the assembled people of Eisenach, at the foot of the mountain on whose summit stood the Wartburg Castle, that nearly two centuries after was a "city of refuge" for Luther, the exponent of the doctrine of non-mediation, and where the Reformer hid himself when translating the Bible.*

The art of painting, too, both before and during the Reformation, unmistakably foreshadowed the teaching sought to be enforced by the Thuringian play. The "death dances," so prominent a feature of the church pictures of Germany at this period, evidence a bolder view of life and contempt for death, and this in a manner extremely ludicrous. Paintings grew in abundance, treating of the Christian's life in a spirit totally opposed to that of the worship of the Virgin and the saints which up to that time had reigned supreme. From this freer and more secular treatment of the Bible-teaching rose the representations of the

of this play by the Dominicans. It is also not impossible that the author may have belonged to that order. It might have been a pupil of the prominent Dominican monk, Heinrich Eckart, who died 1329, about seven years after the first performance of the Mysteries. Eckart was held up to scorn as a heretic, because, following the doctrines of the Mystics, he declared faith to be higher than works, and dared to philosophise on the relation of the creature to his God. In any case the author was a monk of Eisenach, and if not a Dominican, he must have been an Augustinian priest, who would then but be re-echoing the teachings of Augustine, the great founder of his order—that man could not be saved from eternal perdition except by the grace of God.

* We do not claim to be the first to have drawn attention to the teaching of the "Thuringian Mystery" as foreshadowing the Reformation, and the break from hitherto accepted traditions. During the progress of the first performance of the play at Eisenach an incident occurred which shows that the Catholics were then fully conscious of the blow dealt at their faith. The story is of such importance that we deem it well worth repeating. It is the enactment of a drama within a drama, and seems to have created a great stir at the time. When the scene was reached where the Virgin Mary pleads with her Son for the foolish virgins and is rebuked by Christ, the Landgrave of Thuringia, Frederick the Joyful, excitedly rose and, turning to the audience, exclaimed in passionate tones, "What will now become of Christian faith, and to whom shall we turn for hope if the intercession of the Mother of God and the holy saints availeth nothing?" The Landgrave then hastily left the performance and hurried to his castle, the Wartburg. Here his rage continued, inducing such a state of mental fever that it brought on a fit of apoplexy, which terminated five days after the incident in his death, November 11, 1324.

Passion of Christ. The assertion of the manhood of the individual that rode upon the wave of the Reformation claimed for itself an existence in art also. During the early stages of the progress of Christianity and art (and especially during the Minne service era), the ideal of *woman* was pre-eminent; but with the growth of the independent spirit of the Reformation, the female ideal gave place to the male. What the Roman Catholic painters began, the Protestants continued wherever the devastating war of the seventeenth century did not entirely check the progress of art.

To him who proclaims that Protestantism has arrested the growth of the fine arts, and bases his assertion on the Puritanism of England and a one-sided Protestant fanaticism in Germany, we would reply in the words of Martin Luther:—"I am not of opinion that the teachings of the Gospel tend to check the growth of art, as some deluded clericals pretend. It is my belief that all arts, especially music, might advantageously be used in the service of Him who has created them." *

The great painter of the Reformation century, Albert Dürer, showed in all his works his strong sympathy with the doctrine of the Reformers. His "Head of Christ," in the National Gallery at Nuremburg, as grand as it is simple, and human as it is divine, finds, it seems to us, a fitting parallel in the grand St. Matthew Passion music of Sebastian Bach. His "Reformation Knight," sometimes known in the art-world as "The Knight, Death, and the Devil," his woodcuts illustrating the Passions, consisting of twelve and thirty-six cuts respectively, and another engraved in copper consisting of sixteen plates, also evidence his Protestant feeling. Again, in his diary of a journey undertaken by him to the Netherlands, he speaks in terms of great warmth of Luther. And from all this might we not surmise what would not Protestant graphic art have become had it not been rudely interrupted by the Thirty Years' War? †

* See C. von Winterfeld's "Sacred Songs of Luther," Leipzig, 1840; also sacred song-book of Wittenberg, by Johann Walther, 1524, edited by Otto Kade, and published in the Robert Eitner collection, vol. vii., Berlin, 1878. Luther could not have more strongly expressed his appreciation of all the arts than by this prefatorial reference to them in a work treating exclusively of the tonal art, on which poetry and the graphic arts would have no direct bearing.

† The celebrated painting, "Knight, Death, and the Devil," by Dürer is well fitted to illustrate the mental connection that existed between the Reformer and himself. It is recorded

Another great German painter of this period, Lucas Kranach, a follower of Luther and friend of Frederick the Wise, the protector of the Reformer, devoted his artistic gifts to the cause of the Reformation. The celebrated altar-pictures at Schneeberg, Meissen, Wittenberg, and Weimar, all show his strong sympathy with the new religious movement. The younger Holbein, born at Augsburg in 1495, and therefore a contemporary of Luther, was also a warm adherent of the Reformer. His portraits of Erasmus of Rotterdam, and Sir Thomas More, the minister of Henry VIII., his service under the English monarch, and his master-works illustrating the Passion of our Lord, are all so many evidences of the artist's sympathy with the Reformation teachings. As a last illustration of the attitude of the fine arts towards the reformed religion, we would draw attention to the style and structure of the sacred

by Luther that, on hearing the "*Mors et vita duello confluxere mirando*," from the Easter Sequence "*Victimæ Paschali*," he said, "Whoever composed that song must have been imbued with true Christian faith, for this alone could have enabled him to so graphically depict death and the devil attacking life." On reading these words we are struck with their appropriateness to a study of Dürer's work, and we can almost fancy that we see the picture before our eyes for the second time. When in 1521 Dürer was at Antwerp, the news of the supposed capture of Luther by his enemies on the return of the Reformer from Worms was carried to him, he notes the incident in his diary in the following words:—"Ten horsemen have taken captive the pious man basely betrayed into the hands of the enemy. Does our dear Luther—a man filled with the Spirit of God, and a disciple of the true Christian faith—still live, O Lord, or has he been cruelly put to death? If death has been his lot, before Thou judgest him, O my God, Thou wilt remember that, like Thy Holy Son, he was betrayed and done to death by wicked persecutors. What might he not have given to the world during the next ten or twenty years? Oh, all ye pious Christians, mingle your tears with mine, and pray our Father that He will send us another Luther. Who of you is there who has not followed with admiration the holy man's clear exposition of the Gospel truths? Therefore should such of his teachings as have been committed to print be sacredly preserved, and not weakly given over to the flames, unless, indeed, they be cast in to feed the fire that consumeth his opponents." One of the most intimate of Dürer's friends before and during the Reformation was his compatriot Willibald Pirckheimer, the author of a satirical dialogue having reference to the celebrated Leipzig disputation, in which he scoffs at Dr. Eck, the notorious opponent of the Reformer. Another of his friends was Lazarus Speugler, a Nuremberg follower of Luther, a literary defender of the Reformer's teachings, and the writer of the Protestant hymn, "All is lost by Adam's fall." Dürer painted a special portrait of the Elector Frederick the Wise in 1524 in token of his admiration for the prince's strong defence of Luther, and the favour with which he regarded the new teachings. The last portraits of Dürer were those of Erasmus of Rotterdam and of his intimate friend Melancthon, both engraved on copper. The greater part of Dürer's fortune was left by his widow to the Protestant University of Wittenberg, greatly to the joy of his co-worker Melancthon.

edifices in which Protestants worshipped. With the exception of those originally Catholic and afterwards appropriated by the Protestants, we find that they were all of the simplest kind. Often, indeed, they consisted of no more than the bare walls and roof. But what a change has now taken place. From the middle of the present century the supporters of the Protestant faith have almost universally adopted a Gothic style of the purest kind. Where this new feature of glorifying the Church by architectural embellishment will lead to, especially when combined with the vastly improved Evangelical plastic and painting of to-day, cannot yet be determined.

But notwithstanding that architecture has of late so largely introduced itself into the service of the Church, poetry and music (especially the latter) contribute the greatest share of the aid rendered by the arts to Protestantism. Since the time of Luther the tonal art has ever held an important part in Christian worship. This has been owing chiefly to the comparative youth of music as an art. It was not till some years after the Reformation that the art of music arrived at a state of perfection equal to that which the other arts, especially the plastic, already enjoyed. Again, from the time when Luther began his crusade against the worship of images and pictures, the arts of sculpture and painting fell greatly into desuetude in the Church service. Their sphere of action, perforce, was very much restricted. Then it was that the Protestant religion had recourse to music as its art-handmaid. It will be at once understood, therefore, why the blow struck by Luther at the dogmas of the Catholic Church reverberated more strongly in the tonal art than even in those which had foreshadowed the Reformation.

The simultaneous development of the Christian Church and Christian art is strikingly illustrated in the case of music. We find Protestant music growing out of and completing Catholic tonal theory and practice. The music of the Reformed Church retained three of the chief elements of that of the older Church. In the music of the Papal Church these three combined to make one form of tonal writing. In the Reformed Church they were often employed singly. The first and most important was the old polyphony. This was adopted and used by the German writers of the Reformation period in exactly the same spirit as it had been developed and worked by their Catholic predecessors. An examination of the part-writing of the Evangelical master Johann Walther, and the Catholic Ludwig Senfel,

both contemporaries and friends of Luther, will disclose a oneness of polyphonic working that is very striking. As a musician Senfel was highly esteemed by the great Reformer, and notwithstanding his Catholic faith, Luther strongly advised that the style and form of the tonal writers of the Protestant Church should be modelled on those of the Catholic master. From this it is evident that Luther desired to construct an Evangelical tone-service on the basis of Catholic music. In the best compositions of both these masters, and especially in those of Senfel, who as a musician was greatly the superior of Walther, we are again brought back to the skilful counterpoint of the Netherland school, moulded, however, in that severely restricted form and style which it had acquired through the inventive genius of Heinrich Isaak, the greatest German tone-poet of the fifteenth century.

This reappearance of Netherland polyphony brings us to our second point—the use of the *cantus firmus* by the Evangelical composers of the Reformation period. Like the old Netherlanders, they made this their principal theme, working their other parts around it. Their treatment of the *cantus firmus* gradually led to its adoption in the Evangelical Church as a melody for the whole congregation, and from it has been evolved the important German Chorale. With the introduction of the *cantus firmus* into Church music we lose sight of those characteristic features that indicate its origin. But this is not so in art-music. Here it retains enough of its distinguishing traits to show its derivation from the *Volkslied* or people's song.

Thirdly, the Evangelicals appropriated for their service certain parts of the Catholic psalms, gospel, lessons, and collect tones, as well as antiphons, hymns, sequences, and other forms and melodies of the old Gregorian chorale. The Catholic hymnology was adopted by the Protestants and used for their Liturgy, the text of which was the purest outcome of the Reformation. They also kept certain Gregorian melodies, and that peculiar kind of chant recitation which the Catholic priests adopted when celebrating the Holy Eucharist, and the Mass (translated into the German tongue by Luther), or when reading the Gospel and Epistle from the altar. Sometimes the Gospels and Epistles were chanted in alternate verses by priest and congregation, or priest and choristers; occasionally the choir joined their voices with those of the people, but throughout the

rhythm was the same as that of the *accentus* and *concentus* of the Catholic Church-song.*

In pointing out the influence which Catholic music exercised over that of the Evangelical Church, we must not omit to refer to a growing feature of the Reformation period, and one which has subsequently assumed great proportions. This was the German congregational hymn. Its value as a medium for bringing the congregation into closer communion with the spirit of the service cannot, when compared with that of the hitherto used Latin chorale, be over-estimated. Although there was no lack of hymns in the mother-tongue in the Catholic Liturgy, yet their use was so restricted that when Luther assigned to them so prominent a part in the Reformed service it was regarded as quite a new feature. With the Catholics, hymns in the mother-tongue were only used at processions and on high festivals, and were then sung by the congregation only at Christmas, Easter, and certain other high feast-days. With these exceptions, the Catholic congregational song consisted of short musical phrases chanted by the priest, to which the people either responded or added their voices to the refrain sung by the choristers from the altar. The part assigned to the people then was but a very subordinate one. According to Bäumker, the Catholic Church before the Reformation recognised only one liturgical song—viz., the Gregorian chorale—the introduction of hymns in the mother-tongue being considered *ex liturgica*.†

Luther's ardent desire was to bring the Liturgy well within the understanding of every one. This was why he allotted so prominent a part in the new service to hymns in the people's vernacular; indeed, the Liturgy, as compiled by him, was written almost entirely in the native tongue. The congregational song, constituting almost the chief element of the musical portion of the service, was based on the form of the Catholic chorale. To mould a service in the people's tongue was a step in the right direction, for fifty years after the death of Luther the musical service of the Reformed Church had attained comparatively a state of efficiency

* It is to be regretted that these various musical items have not been preserved in the Evangelical service, especially, too, because of their importance as representing pure vocal song. In the long years since the Reformation they have either almost entirely disappeared, or have become so merged into modern Church music as to have lost their original characteristics.

† Bäumker's "History of the Tonal Art," p. 136.

which it had taken Catholic music a thousand years to acquire. Luther did not restrict himself to translating only the chorale into the German tongue. Other portions of the service, which the people hitherto heard in the to them unintelligible Latin idiom, were also dealt with in the same way. Later we shall see how he strove to create a Mass that should be wholly German. The Reformer was anxious, too, that the use of the congregational hymn as evolved by him should not be restricted to Church service only. He strongly urged its introduction into all scholastic institutions, feeling that by this means the way would be prepared for a general practice of sacred song.*

The chorale of the Reformed Church compares favourably with that of the Catholic Church, in that it retains more of the form and spirit of the Volkslied than that of the older Church. Its musical phrases, each complete in itself, are more akin to the several *closes* of the popular song than the hymns of the Catholic Church, which were all conceived

* Luther was greatly assisted in his endeavours to disseminate the chorale by the Volkslied, which was increasing in popular favour daily. Since the end of the fourteenth century the Volkslied had become a powerful factor in tonal practice. First we have its adoption by the masters of the Netherland school under the form known to us as the *cantus firmus*; and secondly its gradual incorporation into the Church song of the congregation, and this, be it remembered, in the vernacular of the people, whether Flemish, Dutch, or French. It was this which proved of so much assistance to Luther. The first German translator of Latin hymns was Johannes von Salzburg, a monk who is accredited with the translation of about twenty. In some parts of Germany the people sang a mixture of Latin and German in the Church songs, producing, as may be imagined, some curious effects. We may give just two examples:—

“Puer natus in Bethlehem,
 D:ß freult sich Jerusalem.”
 (Joyous was Jerusalem.)

And one to the Virgin entitled “Ave Maris stella;” in the couplet which we quote it will be observed that one word only is Latin:—

“Ave Morgensterne (morning-star)
 Erleuchte uns millichlich.”
 (Gently shed thy light.)

This gradual insertion of responses in the mother-tongue is one of the signs of a nation awakening to consciousness, stirred by that tumultuous upheaval of thought among the peoples of Europe during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, which closes the Middle Ages, and introduces us to the modern era. It was this use of the vernacular of the people in their Church service that enabled Luther to pilot his German Mass triumphantly into port. The great Reformer asserted, with a power equalled by no other German of the sixteenth century, his nationality against Rome and Romish influence.

in the traditional fixed cadences of Gregorian song. In Luther's time the Protestant congregational hymn was not yet written in the measured bar phrases of a few years later. It was still dominated by the cadenced rhythm of Gregorian melody, though in a much milder manner.

One of the principal causes that led to the change in spirit and character of Catholic song by the Protestants was the entire abolition of all hymns to the Virgin Mary. These were superseded by plaints to the crucified Lord, and hymns of praise that by the sufferings and death of Christ a way had been opened by which eternal life might be gained. One of the latest and best of the new chorales of the period is by the poet Paul Gerhardt (1695), "O Bleeding Head." It was sacred songs of this class that supplanted settings of the Ave Maria, Ave Maris stella, Regina Coelorum, and Salve Reginas, leading to an entire change in text, expression, and melody; and it was this change that gave birth to a new class of music—Cantatas, Passion-music, and Oratorios. Into these two new forms was infused a dramatic expression which the hymns of the Catholic Church had never known. This was generating a new spirit and a new life in tonal art.*

The strenuous exertions that Luther made to bring the art of music well within the service of the Church deserve our unstinted praise. He did not, as might at first be supposed, improve the chorale only, but music as a whole was benefited by his labours. The polyphony of the older Church was made by him the basis of new work. He adopted many elements of the old Church music, and chief among these the strictly worked out contrapuntal motet and the *cantus firmus*. Many beautiful old melodies of the Gregorian chorales were also adopted by him, some of which he kept in their original form, while others he re-modelled.

* We have not intended to deny the existence of any hymns in the Romish ritual in which the text was one of supplication to the Saviour. There are several instances recorded in the history of the older Church of fathers, popes, saints, and leading clericals inditing hymns to Christ; indeed, one of the favourite of Luther's congregational songs was in use at the time of Gregory—"Rex Christe factor omnium." Nor is there any lack of popular songs addressed to the Saviour in the Catholic Passion-plays, and in Catholic praise and procession music. But during the Middle Ages congregational music was but a subsidiary feature of Christian worship, whereas in the Reformed service it was the principal feature. Therefore it was that Protestant art-music was affected to a much greater degree than the music of the older Church.

Congregational song, as developed by Luther, was quite a new feature in the worship of the people. With the gifted intuition of a master-mind, the Reformer felt the necessity of making the people participators in the service of the Church, and the congregational hymn presented itself to him as the fittest medium for this. With this end in view he steadily brought the chorale to the front, even writing words himself. But in the poems of Luther, of course, the prayers to the Virgin and Saints gave place to supplications to Christ. Whether the melodies supplied to the Reformer's verses were also expressly composed by him or by contemporary musicians, or whether he fitted his lines to existing popular tunes, we shall now endeavour to discover. In order to do this we must try to find out exactly to what degree, more or less, Luther was capable of influencing the development of musical art. This we shall be able to do by comparing the state of music in Germany before and after the Reformation. Such a comparison will, even after making allowances for all adventitious help, give us a tolerably accurate estimate of what the Reformer, either by gift or tuition, accomplished for music.

Dealing first with the state of the tonal art prior to the Reformation, we find that the first great German composer of note was Franco of Cologne. It will be remembered that Franco has ever been regarded as one of the most prominent pupils of the old French school, whether owing to his adoption of the theory of the Parisian masters, or from his residence in the French capital, it does not now much concern us. From Franco's time, *i.e.*, the end of the twelfth century, the Germans, like all other nations of Christianity, were pupils of the French and their successors, the Gallo-Belgians and Netherlanders. As regards the development of a theory and practice independent of either of these three nationalities, the Germans have as little claim to be considered the representatives of a strictly national music as the Italians, the Spaniards, or the English.* And this, too, for a period of 300 years, *i.e.*, during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. There can be no possible doubt that all this time Germany was dependent upon its north-western neighbours for its musical grammar. At first one

* From this opinion of our Author I must be allowed to express my dissent, for I am strongly convinced that each of these nations did possess a popular and national style of rustic melody, which has unfortunately been lost, having probably never been committed to writing.
—F. A. G. O.

may be inclined to dogmatically assert that Konrad Paumann, born at Nuremberg, 1410, Paul Hofheimer, of Styria, born about 1449, and Adam von Fulda, 1460—1530, represent the German school during this period, the first two by their skilled contrapuntal compositions, Church choruses, and instrumental music, and Fulda by his Mensural song. But an examination of their works unmistakably points to their pupilage under the Netherland tone-masters.* The only music during this period that exhibits any trait of national colouring is the German Volkslied; and this more especially so at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. That a faint national tint did run through the popular song we cannot doubt, since the collection of melodies in the Lochheimer Song-book exhibits a characteristic which is distinctly proved to be German. We particularly observe the simple and appropriate tone-language with which the old masters, even in the time of Binchois and Okeghem, clothed the popular verse, both as regards harmony and accompaniment.† The treatment of the Volkslied, in its special character as a secular song, was freer, and we would say superior, to the secular chansons of the Netherlanders, when compared with the strictly canonic contrapuntal compositions of the Church, notwithstanding that the Netherlanders were at that period the leaders of musical progress. Such an early and rich harvest of folk-song, as well as the special treatment it received in art-music, are facts which we must keep well in mind when estimating what Luther accomplished for Protestant congregational song. He and his poetical and musical fellow-workers, with rare penetration, saw that the people's melodies were the outpourings of the soul. This then was the fittest medium by which to appeal to the people, and most successfully was it adopted. Popular melodies were pressed into the service of the Church, and were supplied with sacred in place of secular words.

But besides the influence of the Volkslied on Evangelical tonal art, other important factors were at work—especially the advice and practical assistance Luther received from living musicians. The first and chief of these was Heinrich Isaak, born between 1440 and 1445, tone-poet and

* Adam von Fulda, in the ninth chapter of his celebrated treatise, completed in 1490, says that Dufay was the inventor of all the polyphonic compositions based on the canon.

† The three-part harmonies of seven (6, 15, 16, 17, 18, 40, and 41) out of the forty-four secular tunes in the Lochheimer Song-book support this in a very decided manner; of these, 15, 17, 18, and the two upper voice parts of 41, exhibit the purest part-writing.

contemporary of the Reformer. Master Isaak was unquestionably the best German musician of the fifteenth century. All his works evidence the deep thinker. Just at the time when Isaak was at his best as a composer, Luther was struggling to form his Liturgy. Again, Ludwig Senfel (Isaak's favourite pupil) was a personal friend of the Reformer. This in itself would be sure to have affected the construction of the new Liturgy, as Luther did not fail to obtain all possible assistance from such as were competent to advise. And Johann Walther also, the man to whom Luther says he was the most indebted, although not directly a pupil of Isaak, yet discloses in his works, especially the more ambitious, his indebtedness to the great fifteenth century master.*

According to most authorities, Heinrich Isaak was a native of Bohemia, Ambros and Kade believing him to have been born at Prague. Between 1480 and 1492 we find Isaak, together with several of his northern neighbours, and amongst them Josquin, Hobrecht, and Agricola, at the Florentine court. From the imperial archives of Vienna we learn that the master was accredited by Maximilian I. to the court of Lorenzo di Medici. From this appointment he received an annual income of 150 florins.†

Isaak was a great favourite with Duke Lorenzo the Magnificent, and the Florentines familiarly called the master Arrigo Tedesco, *i.e.*, Henry the German. After the death of the duke, Isaak entered the service of the Emperor Maximilian as "Symphonista regius," a title which is somewhat misleading. It had no reference whatever to any instrumental capabilities of the professor, but signified much the same kind of office as that of our modern royal court composer. As far as can be gathered from documentary evidence, the master would seem to have died about a year

* These evidences include unmistakable harmonies of peculiar and almost crude combination. In reference to this Otto Kade, in the introduction to Johann Walther's "Wittenburg Sacred Song-book" of 1524, published in the Robt. Eitner collection, vol. vii., points out that Walther uses the interval of the third very often simultaneously with the suspension of the fourth before the third, a peculiarity by no means rare in Isaak's works.

† The appointment of Isaak to a diplomatic post speaks much for the social position held by musicians of note during the period of the Renaissance. As a court servant Isaak was the forerunner of men celebrated in the world of art. Peter Paul Rubens, the great painter, held a similar office at the Spanish court during the first half of the seventeenth century: And Astorga, the great Sicilian master, and composer of a renowned "Stabat Mater," seems to have held a diplomatic appointment at the court of the Duke Francis of Parma at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

before the Emperor Maximilian, who we know departed this life on the 12th of January, 1519, and therefore we place Isaak's death in the early part of 1518.*

The general character and contrapuntal working of the German master's writings bear a striking resemblance to those of the Netherland tone-masters. Most biographers consider Isaak to have been a pupil of Josquin. Kiesewetter and Ambros are both of this opinion, and also the writer of the article "Isaak" in Mendel's Lexicon. Kade, however, denies that Isaak could ever have been a pupil of Josquin; and in this assertion we concur, that is as far as concerns any immediate pupilage of the German to the great Netherlander. This does not preclude, however, the possibility of his having been influenced by the art-teachings of his reputed master.†

* More detailed information respecting Isaak may be obtained from Otto Kade's excellent biographical sketch in Liliencron's "General German Biography."

† Kade's reasons for asserting that Isaak could not have been a direct pupil of Josquin are extremely poor. First he says it was impossible because the German master is generally admitted to have been four years the senior of the Netherlander. Such reasoning as this crumbles away as soon as we apply the test of history to it. In the world of art there are and have been innumerable instances where the master was younger than the pupil. To talk, as Kade does, of the greater experience of a man but four years the senior of another is really too childish to discuss, and especially when upon this he assumes that the older master must have been the teacher of the younger (see page 15 of Kade's article "Isaak" in Mendel's Lexicon). We cannot possibly conceive how it ever could have been asserted that, because one man happened to be four years older than another, therefore his mental attainments must have been superior; and yet this is what Kade lays great stress on, returning to the point no less than five times. Doubtless many instances have already occurred to the student where the elder has acknowledged his indebtedness to the younger. Haydn, twenty-four years the senior of Mozart, again and again admitted his obligations to his youthful friend. And this especially so after the appearance of what proved to be the last and best of Mozart's symphonies. Several of the symphonies which Haydn wrote during his stay in London for the celebrated Salomon concerts afford the clearest evidence of this. And if a master of Haydn's gifts, with his more than a score of years' seniority, profited by the genius of his pupil, was it not possible that Isaak might have done likewise with but four years separating him from the younger master? But whether the German was or was not the pupil of Josquin, unquestionably his music is the outcome of Netherland tuition. Another assertion made by Kade carries as little weight. He asserts that Isaak could not have used double counterpoint, because "it was not invented until the time of Swelinck, 1620." Professor Dehn, about thirty years ago, proved conclusively that double counterpoint was used by Lassus, and Lassus we know died in 1594; and we have already brought to notice that Jean de Garlande and Walter Odington, as well as other old French and English composers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, practised the inversion of two parts. And we have also shown how double counterpoint, for a century and a half, fell into disuse with the Netherlanders.

It would seem hardly possible that one single master could remain impervious to the teachings of a school that made its influence felt upon the whole development of music? With Isaak, too, it was especially improbable, for it will be remembered that he was accredited to a court where three leading masters of the Netherland school—Josquin, Hobrecht, and Agricola—were in attendance, the first two having already acquired reputation as musicians. It is hardly conceivable, therefore, that such European celebrities should have had no influence at all on their German companion in art; and still further, was it probable that the famous Josquin, who was then thirty-five years of age, should have put himself under the tuition of Isaak? The art of the Netherlanders at this time was too matured, and had received too universal an acknowledgment to make it at all probable. It would be far more within the range of possibility to have said that Josquin received instruction from his compatriot Hobrecht, a man fifteen years his senior. Whence, we would ask, was Isaak to acquire anything unknown to the Netherlanders? Germany could not boast of any national school of contrapuntists or canonic part-writers. Indeed, Germany should no longer contend for what has never existed; rather let it readily admit its indebtedness to the Netherland masters. The frequent intercourse which must have existed between Isaak and the then most prominent figures of the Netherland school points emphatically to the indoctrinating which he must have received at their hands. A further, and perhaps the greatest proof is, that the compositions of Isaak prior to his sojourn at Florence have a different stamp to those written subsequent to his intimacy with the Netherlanders. Kade involuntarily admits this when he denies that Isaak's most important work, the grand "Choralis Constantini," was written during his stay at Florence. This we at once admit. The German master had much to learn, and it could only be after that he had carefully studied and digested the new matter that his artistic individuality would begin to assert itself. If we accept this, and there is every reason why we should, then it does not need the searching for "Netherlandish traits" in the "Crucifixus" of the above Mass to prove that he had learned much from the Netherlanders, not even in the peculiar working out of certain passages. To our mind the "Choralis Constantini," published for the first time in its entirety in 1558, beyond all possible doubt points to Netherland influence. And this same influence is to be traced in the greater number of the thirty-

three Masses of Isaak which have lately been brought to light, and also, as far as is at present ascertained, in his forty-six motets.*

There was, however, one direction in which Isaak differed from the Netherlands, and particularly from Josquin. This was in creating popular folk-songs. In this Isaak asserts his musical individuality and independence. The Netherland composers of the fifteenth century but rarely exerted themselves in inventing original melodies for the people. A very marked distinction was drawn at that time in Germany and the Netherlands between a *Phonascus* (i.e., an original composer) and a *Symphonetes* (i.e., a writer who merely put a counterpoint to an existing melody). It is curious that masters of this period should have thought it more praiseworthy to be considered a contrapuntist *Symphonetes* than an inventive *Phonascus*. It was for this reason that, when desiring to exhibit their skill as tone-masters, they chose rather to set parts to existing popular songs than to invent both their own melodies and counterpoint. Isaak, however, preferred to create his own melodies. This he considered more meritorious than the mere working out of tunes already made, and it is to this commendable spirit that Germany is indebted for many of the finest old Volkslieder that her treasury of tonal lore contains. The popular melody "Innspruck, I must leave thee," still sung in some parts of Germany, is ascribed to him. Another, "A Peasant had a Daughter," very popular till within the last few years, is also said to have been written by Isaak. The former of these melodies was adopted by the Church, and became a great

* The "beauty of form and grace" that Kade points out in the later works of Isaak, and which he ascribes to Italian influence, must rather be attributed to the ennobling effect of a closer acquaintance with the best works of Hobrecht and Josquin. Many harmonic crudities noticeable in the earlier works of the master disappear entirely, or are toned down considerably, in the writings that appeared after he had formed a friendship with the three Netherland masters. Italy itself had not yet developed a distinctive national school. Like all other European nations, it was still dominated by the Netherland institution. The counterpoint was originally adopted by Italy from the Gallo-Belgians, and subsequently perfected by the teachings of Hobrecht, Josquin, and Tinctor. Italian counterpoint cannot be said to have acquired any "beauty of form or grace" until the sixteenth century, in the time of Constanzo Festa, Annimuccia, Andrea Gabrieli, and Palestrina, greatest of all. Kade affects to support his inference by what he considers the parallel case of Albert Dürer's sojourn in Italy, asserting that the ennobling of that master's style was owing to foreign influence. But the parallel cannot be accepted as such, for on Dürer's second visit to Upper Italy (1505-7) he found the brothers Gentile, Giovanni Bellini, Vittore Carpaccio, and Andrea Mantegna, native artists whose style not only exhibited "beauty of form and grace," but also distinctive national characteristics.

favourite. The Isaak melodies, "O World! I must leave thee," and "Now Peace reigns through the Forest," are as popular to-day as they were 300 years ago.

Besides the German Volkslieder composed by Isaak, he also wrote many Italian popular songs. The finest of these were the festival and masque songs, "Canti carnascialeschi," written by command of Lorenzo Magnifico for the Carnival of Florence, and set to music by the German master. That Isaak, by birth and tendencies a German, should write popular Italian melodies, is one of the earliest examples of a composer being influenced by that general upheaval of cultured life of the Middle Ages which had formerly affected sculptors, poets, and painters only. In his masque songs Isaak seems to be distinctly under the influence of the Renaissance style, whereas in his Church compositions, although a progressive master, there breathes that mediæval Christian spirit which had been diffused over Germany by the Gallo-Belgians. But the master stands out best in those Volkslieder *created* by him. They show Isaak swayed by that spirit of nationality which had been awakened in the peoples of Europe from the fourteenth century, and which during the lifetime of the master was asserting itself with great force.*

Ludwig Senfel, the pupil of Isaak, holds a still more important position among the prominent German composers of the Reformation. As a contemporary and personal friend of Luther, notwithstanding his Catholic faith, he took a leading part in all the changes which the great Reformer effected in the tonal art. Senfel (also written Senfl and Senfelius) was born towards the end of the fifteenth century, and died in 1555, nine years after the death of Luther. His works bear the impress of the style of his master Isaak, though conceived in a higher and freer spirit. The Reformer had a special predilection for part-writing of a certain kind, and he found his ideal realised in the motets of Senfel. At a banquet given by Luther on the 17th of December, 1539, to several singers, who after

* When treating of the Netherland masters we drew attention *en passant* to such influences, and especially to that of the Renaissance; *e.g.*, the setting of Ariosto's poems by Berchem, the tone-painting of Jannequin, and the dubbing of those Munich festive gatherings "Orlandiades," named after the tone-master Orlandus Lassus, &c. We did not then deal more fully with these signs of the beginning of a new epoch of civilisation, as we had not yet entered upon that era when the art-streams of cultured life began to incorporate themselves into European civilisation.

dinner sang several fine graceful motets of the Catholic master, he enthusiastically exclaimed: "If I tore myself asunder I could not compose one motet like any of those; but then Senfel cannot preach a sermon as I can; verily the gifts of the mind are manifold, like the limbs of the body."*

The motets of Senfel are unquestionably the best specimens of German musical art during the Reformation era. They are imbued with a heartfelt expression which claims for them an acknowledgment of artistic merit. Their technique shows itself as the climax of the strict polyphonic writing which Germany, during the first half of the sixteenth century, and even after that, can produce. Senfel did not restrict himself only to the working out of the conventional *cantus firmus*, but added to it one or two other melodies which he made equally fixed tones, uniting them by occasional imitative counterpoint and weaving them into an ideal artistic whole. As a special example we may cite that in which he has used the venerable Easter hymn, "Christ is risen," working it up into an elaborate motet for six voices. His thirty-one† settings of verses of Horace show



Fig. 191.—Ludwig Senfel.

* Bäumker points this out in proof of Luther's dilettantism; but one might the more easily prove the contrary by this, as the mere fact that Luther sought to draw a comparison between Senfel and himself with regard to motet writing, no matter in whose favour, proves that the Reformer must have essayed the composing of polyphonic works, or how else could he have asserted that Senfel as a writer of motets could never be approached by him?

† Published by Formschneider at Nuremberg in 1534. Johann Ott, manager of the firm of Formschneider, and contemporary of Senfel, says, in a dedication to 150 songs published in 1541, that "they (i.e., Isaak and Senfel) have such a manner that if one wishes to understand them one must isolate oneself and follow with one's whole heart, and that unless the hearer does this he will miss the whole import of the work." This would show us that, besides Luther, other masters were also held in high esteem by contemporaries.

that, like his master Isaak, he was influenced by the cultured streams of the Renaissance period.

Among the masters who, considering the time and place, might have had some influence over the early musical training of Luther, was Heinrich Fink. We must not confound Heinrich with his nephew Hermann, a learned musician who is known to have lived at Wittenberg in 1557. Heinrich Fink was at his best as a composer from 1470 to 1490. In his old age he took up his residence at Wittenberg, where he was regarded with respect on account of his musical gifts. The predilection of the Reformer for German songs must have attracted him towards the writings of Fink, as this master excelled in composing and arranging popular melodies. Fink published a collection of fifty-five songs which found great favour in Germany—"fifty-five carefully selected songs by the celebrated Heinrich Fink, together with other original songs by celebrated masters, pleasing and well adapted for instrumental accompaniment." The master's nephew seems to have been a warm supporter of the Reformed religion. One of his chorales, "O let Thy grace remain," is sung to this day in German Protestant churches.

This closes our brief attempt to portray the state of the tonal art prior to Luther's time, *i.e.*, when Master Isaak was the acknowledged leader of German musical thought, and also of music during the Reformer's life and up to his death, *i.e.*, under Ludwig Senfel, recognised by Protestants and Romanists alike as the first of living tone-poets. But the account of the state of music during the childhood of Luther, and when the Reformer himself was actively engaged in moulding Protestant music, would be imperfect were we not to take into account the influence exercised by Josquin des Près, the head of the most celebrated tone-school, over all German masters, including Luther and all lovers of serious music. How highly Josquin was esteemed by the musicians of Europe we have already referred to in the tenth and eleventh chapters. And this admiration was not confined alone to his professional brethren. We might perhaps cite, as the strongest proof of this, the enthusiastic appreciation of Luther for the master. For although Luther himself pursued the study of music with passionate love, yet he considered he was but a dilettante by the side of the learned Netherlander.*

* We do not intend to infer that anywhere in the writings of the Reformer we shall find that he speaks of himself as a dilettante, but remembering well the undoubted high position

In enthusiastic admiration at the complete mastery of this great composer over all musical contrivances, and his elevation of sacred music to a height it had never before attained, he exclaims, "Jodocus (Josquin) is master of the notes, they must follow him as he wills, but the others are mastered by the notes and must write as *they* will." Further on he says, "Josquin's compositions are blithe and gay, free, gentle and graceful, neither forced nor unnatural, nor bound by rigid laws, but free like the song of birds." How intimately conversant with the rules of polyphony must the critic have been to have detected in how far Josquin was tied or not by academical lore. The admiration of Luther for Josquin was well known. Johann Walther, wishing to make a special present to the Reformer, gave him a book of songs, in which were several compositions by his favourite master. The following is a fac-simile of Luther's handwriting on the first page of Walther's book.*

Hat mich sehr sehr gefallen found
 von Johann Walther
 Composit in Meyser
 3m Theil
 1530
 Dem Gott grüß
 Martinus Luther

Fig. 192. — Handwriting of Martin Luther.

(Fac-simile of page 4 of the Otto Kade "Luther Codex.")

which rightly belongs to this over-modest man, who never arrogated to himself the title of "master," and judging from our modern standpoint of dilettantism, this is the only just appellation with which to characterise him. Even conceding this to the Reformer, we doubt whether we should alight to-day on any one in the circle of dilettanti who can boast of musical knowledge so deep and thorough, and with such an interest at stake in the progress of the tonal art, as that which governed Luther's actions.

* The musical public are indebted to Otto Kade, musical director at the court of the Grand Duke of Mecklenburgh, for the publication and careful editing of this work, discovered

We cannot forbear citing a passage from Luther's "Encomium Musices" which seems to bear a direct reference to Josquin. If not to Josquin, then it must have been penned in allusion to Senfel, but we have strong reasons for believing it written in praise of the Netherlander. We know that Luther held Senfel in great esteem, but it is evident from the passage we have already quoted that he placed Josquin still higher, distinctly speaking of him as the *only* master whom the notes obey. He says: "Where natural music is improved and polished by art-contrivance, there one sees the boundless love of God who gave to man this power. Nothing is so strange and wonderful as a simple tune (or tenor) accompanied by three, four, and five other voices, which gambol about and ornament it in many ways. I can but liken it to an heavenly roundelay, in which the participators move hither and thither with marvellous skill. Those that listen and are touched by it cannot help thinking that there is nothing more marvellous in the world than the ornamenting so simple a melody with so many voices." *

It is a remarkable fact that nowhere do we find any criticisms of Luther on the polyphonic compositions of Isaak like those he has left us of Senfel and Josquin. This is all the more striking since Isaak was a compatriot, and one might have supposed that the Reformer would have devoted more attention to his works than to those of the foreigner Josquin. We might indeed infer from this that Isaak was a pupil of the Josquin school, and that Luther could not regard the pupil as equalling in any way his highly-lauded Josquin.

We have endeavoured up to the present to describe the state of the tonal art as it was in Germany when Luther first began to take an active part in its development as regards Church music.

Let us now see to what extent the Reformer was capable of moulding

only within the last twelve years. Mr. Kade has furnished some excellent critical notices which make the work very valuable. The indefatigable research of this musician, especially that concerning the Lutheran period, is deserving of the highest commendation. Kade published his work at Dresden in 1871 (the year of the reorganisation of the German Empire), with Henrich Klemm, of the firm of Messrs. Schrag, under the title of the "Luther Codex."

* The author quoted the above in a "Book of Psalms," in 1850, in a work dedicated to King Frederick William IV. The book was published by Bote and Bock, of Berlin, in 1855. The author's intention was to show that Luther did not want to restrict Evangelical Church music to the congregational hymn, but was desirous of introducing compositions of a more ambitious character.

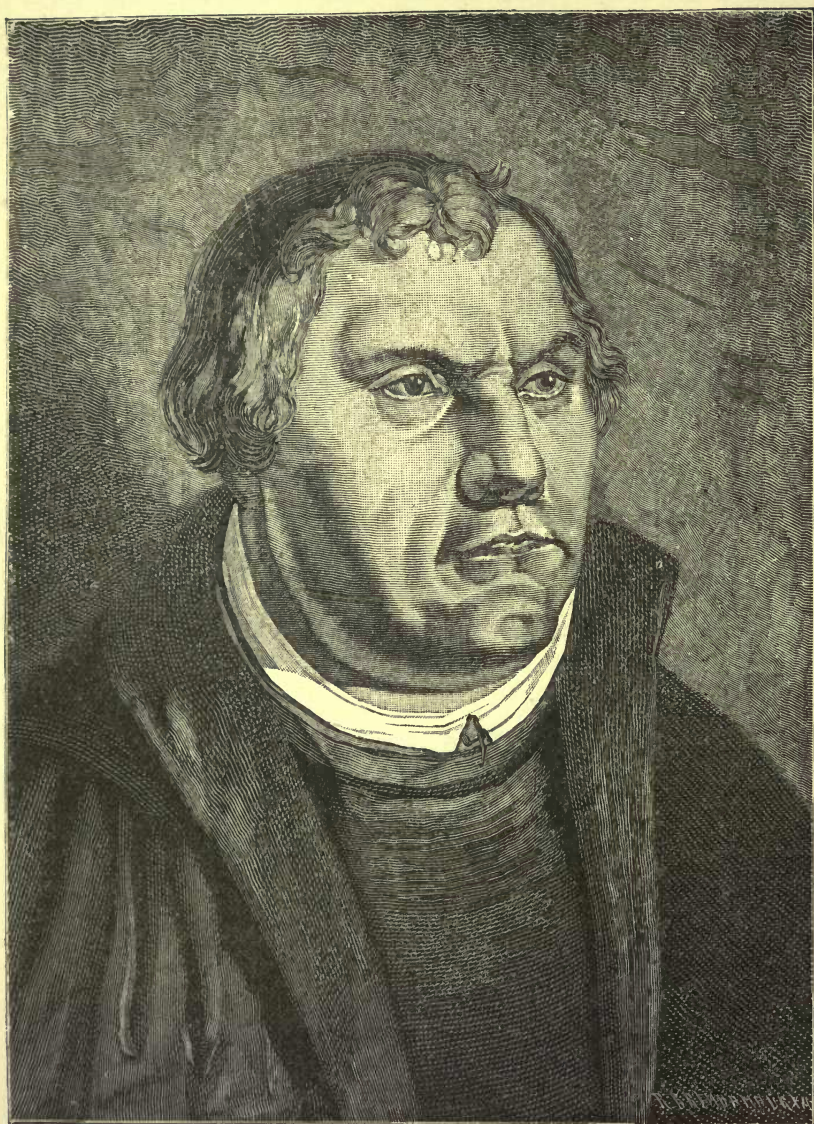


Fig. 193.—Martin Luther.
(From a Painting in the Wartburg by Lucas Cranach.)

the tonal art either by gift or tuition. His almost professional relations with Josquin and Senfel may help us to form some notion of his powers, but it would seem advisable to briefly glance at the early life of the Reformer, and trace the sources from which it was probable that he received his musical education.

Martin Luther, the son of a poor miner, was born at Eisleben, November. 10, 1483. As a boy he showed undoubted musical talent, and was fortunate in the possession of a bright and pure soprano voice. This gained him admission to the school choir, which brought not only musical tuition, but part of the means of existence. School choirs, known as *Currende*, were instituted some years prior to the Reformation, and were attached to most churches in Germany. The *Currende* consisted of a number of boys who, led by a cantor or precentor, joined in the congregational hymn, and oftentimes assisted the regular choir at certain Church services, morning and evening prayer, baptisms, marriages, and interments. As a general rule, the *Currende* boys were of the poorest class, and gained a scanty pittance by street singing in all weathers. Sometimes, by desire, they sang outside the houses of wealthy citizens, their reward being money, provisions, or in winter a warm drink.

Luther had often stood with others of his youthful companions in the streets of Mannsfeld and Magdeburg in the bitter frost and cold, singing for the meagre fare of a piece of bread and a cup of warm drink. A story is told that Luther was one day singing in the streets of Eisenach "*Panem propter Deum*" in tones so appealing, that Frau Cotta frantically rushed from her house, and returning with the boy, gave him a seat at her well-filled board. But the *Currende* was of more importance to Luther as a training school than as a means of bringing daily bread. All the boys were carefully instructed in homophony and polyphony. This early tuition was afterwards of inestimable comfort to the young man, and more especially during the years he entered into the cloister. The young Augustine monk often chased his melancholy away when in the monastery at Erfurt by playing on the lute. It is related that one day, after a self-inflicted chastisement, he was found in a fainting condition in his cell, and that his cloistered brethren recalled him to consciousness by soft music, well knowing that music was the balsam for all wounds of the troubled

mind of their "dear Martinus."* As an instrumentalist Luther excelled in the playing of the lute and flute, and as a singer was gifted with a clear and powerful voice, which he retained almost to the end of his life.

As a monastic student Luther's studies in the theory of music went much deeper than simple counterpoint. In the monasteries of that time strict counterpoint was studied as a daily exercise, and such of the brethren as by inclination were led to the more intricate subtleties of the art found ample time for both theoretical and practical study. Thus we may assume it was while at Erfurt that Luther acquired that knowledge of the higher branches of canonical contrapuntal writing. As a Currende boy he was taught the most elementary counterpoint, *nota contra notam*. On this point Luther says: "At the time that the festival of Christ's birth was celebrated, we went from house to house, and village to village, singing popular Christmas carols (common psalms) in four-part harmony." Notwithstanding the words "four-part harmony," we do not suppose for a minute that the boys sang an intricate counterpoint to village peasants, as "common psalms" implies a simple four-part chorale.

The "Luther Codex," to which we have referred, is at once a proof of the skill the Reformer had acquired as a polyphonic writer, more particularly at the time he was entering upon his war with the Church of Rome. It is well known that the masters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries did not *score* their compositions as we understand that term to-day. They wrote each part separately in books, called "Stimmbücher" or "Partes." It was from such books that the singers studied their parts. The entering

* Whether this story be true or no it matters not, but that it has been disseminated all over Germany, and has obtained a certain colouring of authenticity, is sufficient to show that as a young man Luther was intimately associated with the development of the tonal art. A similar tale is told by Matthäus Ratzeberger in a biography of Luther. He says that when Lucas Edembergger, precentor to John Ernest, Duke of Saxony, went with a following of musicians to visit Luther at Erfurt, they found the monk fainting in his cell, and endeavoured to awaken him by strains of music. In the words of the story, "As they went on with their music Luther began to recover, his melancholy and sadness vanishing before the dulcet strains of the vocalists. Luther joined in their song, and, becoming bright and cheerful, entreated his friends to visit him as often as they found it possible, and not to be rebuffed by any excuse, no matter what they might be told, for whatever his occupation it should be immediately left, in order that he might join with his friends in their song, as he found that his melancholy and temptations fled as soon as he heard music, for," he added, "the devil is the greatest enemy to music, as that art renders man cheerful and hopeful, and what he least desires to see, as man falls an easy prey to his wiles when tormented by doubts and afflicted with temptations."



Fig. 194.—Musical Gathering of Luther and his Family at Christmastide.

of the several parts into one book, called a "Codex," round which the performers stood, must not be confounded with the practice known as scoring, *i.e.*, the putting part under part and bar under bar. The tenor part in the "Luther Codex," which the Reformer sang, is one of those "Stimmbücher," as they were written in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for the use of competent singers of part music. That Johann Walther should have collected for his friend Luther such a Stimmbuch looks as if he regarded him as a brother professor, and shows how far this "dilettante," as Bäumker calls him, must have advanced in the study of music. The Stimmbuch comprises contrapuntal compositions in the motet-form of the highest kind by Hobrecht, Josquin des Prés, Ludwig Senfel, Adam Renner of Lièges, Pierre de la Rue, Antoine de Fevin, Johann Walther, and others. The almost passionate love of the Reformer for singing from a Stimmbuch is authenticated by more than one witness. Matthäus Ratzeberger, in a work bearing the quaint title "The Prostration and Restoration of Dr. Luther by Music," says:—"It was the custom of Luther, when the evening meal was done, to bring from his study his 'Partes,' and with those who were inclined to hold a *Musicam*. He especially delighted in compositions of the old masters with responses, or *hymnos de tempore anni*. A *Canto Gregoriano* or a chorale was also greatly appreciated by him. If he found an inaccurate or faulty part, he corrected it on the spot. After meals his two sons Martinus and Paulus joined with him in singing the response 'De tempore.' At Christmas they sang 'Verbum caro factum est,' 'In principio erat verbum;' at Easter, 'Christus resurgens ex mortuis,' 'Vita sanctorum,' 'Victimæ paschali laudes,' &c. His sons always joined with him in such responses. In the 'Canto figurato' he sang alto."* Such family musical gatherings were by no means rare. The illustration opposite shows us Luther in the midst of the family circle, probably singing his favourite Christmas sequence, "Gratias nunc agimus," or Notker's hymn, "Eja recolamus laudibus." We are told that the melody set to the words in the last-named piece, "O culpa nimium beata qua redempta est natura," always unusually excited

* In reference to the statement that Luther sang alto, Kade says that it does not contradict the former assertion that the Reformer sang tenor, which is supported by the Luther Codex being for the tenor, as the alto was often sung by male voices, and in such cases was written low enough to be within the range of the tenor.

and touched him, and that therefore he loved to sing it whenever the holy season returned.

We must draw a distinction between the household musical gatherings and those which Luther enjoyed together with a number of learned musical professors. With reference to the former the great Reformer said: "We sing as well as we can at our meals; if we make mistakes it is not the fault of the composer, but of our art, which is yet incomplete, notwithstanding that we repeat our refrain twice or thrice."

After a retrospective examination of all the unquestionably reliable evidence which we have adduced in proof of Luther's musical capabilities, it would seem that his power of detecting incorrect passages and offences against strict canonical part-writing was the strongest of all. We have it authentically stated by Ratzeberger that not only was he able to point out faulty passages, but that where it seemed impossible to rectify mistakes owing to complications through incorrect copying, he re-wrote the particular bar according to his own intelligence. If by such references as these our admiration for the great man is increased, it is still more intensified on reading his opinion on Josquin's compositions. With reference to a six-part motet by this master, in which two *canti fermi* are skilfully interwoven with four contrapuntal accompanying voice parts into an organic whole, Luther says: "With what masterly skill has our composer fused the two subjects 'Haec dixit Dominus' and 'Circumdederunt me genitus mortis,' and that too in a manner as clever as it is charming." When reviewing the Reformer's life, and in special reference to the passage just quoted, Kade justly remarks, "from this it is evident that he (Luther) had a closer acquaintance with the work than a mere hearing could have afforded." And we are also of opinion that only a man who possessed an intimate knowledge of part-writing could thus have expressed himself. And have we not already shown, in the passage in which Luther speaks in praise of music, that he must have been a master of no mean attainments? To us it speaks in tones of poetical beauty, and indicates with marvellous clearness that our great Reformer had a delicate sense of the relation of the *cantus firmus* to its accompanying contrapuntal parts.

And after such weighty testimony, how shall we treat those who deny that the Reformer was capable of inventing even so little as a popular melody, or those who, equally extreme in their judgment, see in him the

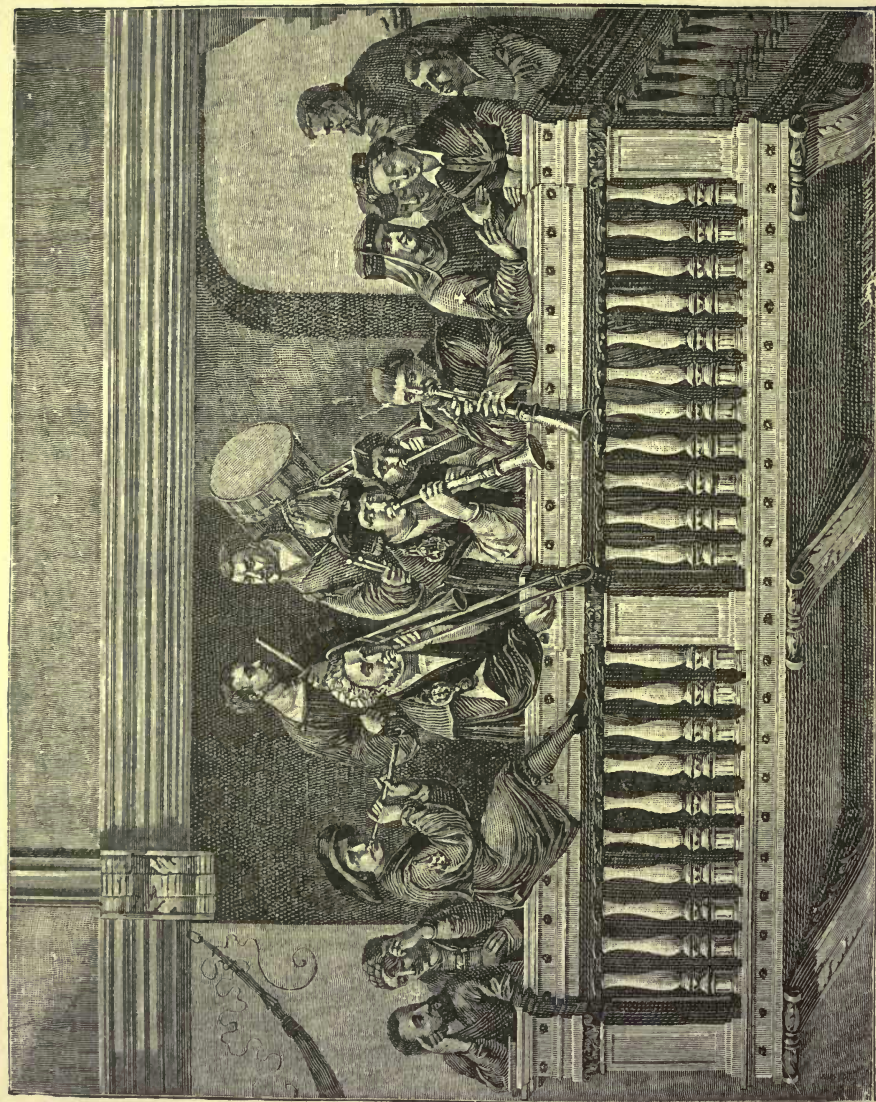


Fig. 195.—Nuremberg Town-Band.
(From a Mural Painting by Albrecht Dürer in the Nuremberg Town-hall.)

basis and corner-stone of a new style, and the founder of an Evangelical school of music growing out of and separating itself from old Catholic music? But what shall be our judgment of the Reformer, with a full knowledge before us of all the circumstances connected with his artistic career: the historical utterances, the authenticated events of his life—such as the presentation of the Walther Stimmbuch, &c.—his keen perception of the high moral significance of our art, his own undoubted musical gift, his skill as a singer, lutist, and flautist, and his shrewd discernment of the artistic dovetailing of canonic contrapuntal parts? Let us endeavour to form such a judgment as shall be free from the extravagances of both extremes, and seek for the probable and real, which generally is to be sought by taking a middle course. We then conclude that Luther was neither a professed musician, nor yet a man who listened to music with merely a sensuous feeling without reflecting on the cause and effect. If this be a just decision, then we must no longer look upon the Reformer as a mere dilettante, and certainly not in the sense as we understand it—*i.e.*, a mere empiric in art. Luther was what to-day would be described as a profound connoisseur in music, and at the same time a practical musician. To his natural musical gifts, and these were of a rich order, we must add an erudite theological and philosophical culture, an extensive knowledge of men and things, and above all a large heart, and the intuitive perception of a genius. It was this universal knowledge that enabled Luther to enter into the high mission of the tonal art more thoroughly than the average musician. His enthusiasm and his suggestions had the greatest influence on the development of the music of his period and the new Church he had founded. After this we may with some degree of safety assert that even if Luther did not compose in the polyphonic style—*i.e.*, as a contrapuntist—he undoubtedly possessed sufficient musical knowledge to enable him to judge as an expert of the construction and artistic merit of canonic writings. As to the actual compositions of Luther, we have up to the present time as little evidence for as against the Reformer having ever penned contrapuntal works.*

* It is still an open question whether the more advanced Currende boys might not have been instructed in the adding of two or three voices to any given melody, especially in the case of a single counterpoint *nota contra notam*. On an examination of documents of the years 1300, 1334, 1452, and 1742, referring to the Alumni (the senior Currende boys) in

We shall further be able to prove that Luther possessed the requisite musical knowledge to enable him to utilise old Church melodies for all kinds of sacred text, even when without metre—*e.g.*, introits, psalms, collects, epistles—sentences, fitting the appropriate Catholic tones to the Evangelical text. His work of this kind which has come down to us shows that the Reformer saw clearly the importance of the appropriateness of the tone to the word and the correctness of accent, evidencing a masterly grasp of the subtleties of musical rhythm, and a faculty, certainly not very common, of re-modelling old tonal phrases. Testimony to this is borne by Johann Walther, who is quoted by Michael Prätorius to have said: "Luther has written notes to Epistles and Gospels, and to the sentences referring to the 'true body and blood of Christ.' He has sung them to me, at the same time asking my opinion."* Further on Walther says: "Among other things every note has been fitted to the text of the German Sanctus with the right *accent* and *concent* in a masterly manner. When on one occasion I asked his reverence whence came this scholarly knowledge, the dear man, smiling at my simplicity, good-humouredly said: 'The poet Virgil has taught me this, for he appropriately does fit his poetry to the theme, and in the same manner, it seems to me, tones should be suitably wedded to the words.' " Luther had also the gift of singing in perfect tune any one of the four, five, or six parts of a contrapuntal *a capella* composition. These were not unfrequently very complicated, and often of such difficulty that in our time we should scarcely expect a perfect rendering except from a professed musician. But this Luther often did, as it sometimes happened that when taking part in a concerted composition he found himself the only representative of the part. Perhaps a striking proof of Luther's capabilities in this direction was the presentation to him by his friend Walther of the

the Gymnasium of the Holy Cross at Dresden, such an inference seems to be well within the probable.

* The tone-master Johann Walther clearly refers here to his friend Luther as a composer. This is important, coming from such a source, for, as Robert Eitner, in one of the numbers of his monthly journal of 1878 points out, Walther draws a marked distinction between the mere arranger or worker out of existing melodies and the inventor. The evidence adduced by Eitner on this point is most conclusive. But were we even to admit, for the sake of argument, that the melodies fitted by Luther to the Epistles and Gospels could be traced to the *Cantus Gregorianus*, then the musicianship required for such a work of reconstruction would be sufficient guarantee of the ability to insert a melody, which indeed would be an easier task than the altering and refitting of existing tunes.

Stimmbuch for his personal use, which, containing the tenor part, *i.e.*, the *cantus firmus*, and being written as a middle part, was therefore much more difficult of execution than a *discant*, or first soprano part. That Luther was also capable of singing other parts is beyond question; and we may take it, too, that they were well done. He was, moreover, intimately acquainted with the Gregorian *cantus choralis*. This he proves by entering minutely into the nature, special character, and distinctive expressiveness of each of the old Church modes, which then formed the basis of Gregorian song.

In further allusion to the musical capabilities of his friend, Walther adds: "When some forty years ago he (Luther) wished to introduce his translated German Mass at Wittenberg, he begged the Elector of Saxony and Duke Johann to allow the aged singing-master, Conrad Rupff, and myself to go to Wittenberg, to consult with him as to the use of certain chorales and old Church modes. We went, and there we saw the great man arrange and adapt the *Octavum tonum* to the Epistles, and the *Sextum tonum* to the Gospels, explaining at the time that 'since Christ is a gracious Master and full of sweet speech, for this reason we use the *Sextum tonum* for the Gospels; and because St. Paul is a stern apostle we use the *Octavum tonum* for the Epistles.' " From these words we gather that each of the Church modes represented to our great Reformer a certain feeling, that care should be exercised in all such cases in the selection of the applicable tone. They remind us of the tone-masters and philosophers of the classical era, who regarded their scales as severally representing special ethical characteristics. We will briefly summarise the stated opinions of two of the old philosophers on this point, Aristotle and Plato: the former considered the Phrygian mode to be the created medium of "ecstatic exaltation," while Plato thought the Doric unequalled for "vigour, manliness, and true Hellenic courage." To Luther the sixth mode represented *sweetness*, and the eighth *stern severity*. He even went still further in his sense of the descriptive character of these two particular modes, being strongly of opinion that they respectively identified themselves with the personality of Christ and of His Apostle.* So unbounded was the enthusiasm of Luther for the art of

* The sixth Church mode is our present scale of C major; the eighth, the D minor scale without accidentals, and therefore without B flat or C sharp, *i.e.*, the scale of D on the white keys of the piano.

music that he declared it to be directly related to divine things. Thus, in one of the many pieces of poetry written in praise of his beloved art, he says :—

“The heart is drawn to thoughts divine
By music pure and good ;
And thus the conscience-troubled saint
Came to a happy mood.”

On another occasion he says : “Music is a beautiful and glorious gift of God, and stands next to theology. I myself would not give up my humble musical acquirements for a great deal.” In the opening sentences of his preface to Johann Walther’s “Sacred Song-book” of 1524, he says that “the singing of sacred songs is good and agreeable to the Almighty, and this, I believe, must be the feeling of every Christian.” Luther further ascribed to music the power of purifying the passions, and regarded its acquisition as an ever-present stimulant to the attainment of knowledge. Thus he says : “Music admonishes man, renders him mild, gentle, modest, and reasonable. It is also a disciplinarian. Singing is the best art, and a good exercise. He who knows this art is ennobled by it, and has aptitude for all things. He is elevated above the world’s strife, and seeks not the justice of the law. He is rendered happy and free from care. Singing dispels the clouds of anxiety. Youth ought to be innured to this art, as it tends to make man able and refined. It is imperative that music should be taught in our schools, and the schoolmaster must be able to sing, or else I will not look upon him. Kings, princes, and nobles should encourage music. It is their privilege to uphold the fine arts.”*

We have already referred to Luther’s proficiency on the flute and lute. Whether he was able to play the organ we are not in a position to say. Up to the present time we have no information one way or the other, but it is scarcely to be supposed that a divine with such remarkably musical gifts would not at some time have acquired a knowledge of organ-playing, especially when we remember that an organ was to be found in every monastery, and that it was the practice of the monks to exercise themselves daily on this instrument. In organ-playing Luther would have an opportunity of satisfying his love of polyphony, and it

* It is worthy of notice that the great Reformer here pays a tribute to all the fine arts.

is not to be supposed that he did not avail himself of every opportunity that would thus have presented itself. Even if not an able performer, he probably possessed sufficient skill to play a prelude, accompany a simple Gregorian *cantus choralis*, or close the service with an easy voluntary. Of his singing we have repeatedly spoken. With such enthusiasm did he enter into all his vocal exercises that it was difficult for him to leave off. Johann Walther confirms this when he says: "I attest truly that Luther, the sainted man of God, the prophet and apostle of the German nation, loved choral song. Many an hour have I sung by his side, and observed that when thus engaged the dear man became joyful and merry of heart. He never seemed to tire of singing and of speaking enthusiastically about music."

And how shall we, his judges of the nineteenth century, regard him? Endowed with musical gifts of a high order, both practically and theoretically a musician, and possessing unusual receptiveness, he stands out a prominent figure in the history of the tonal art. Music to him was a divine revelation, it was a necessity of life, and if we do not class him with professed musicians, it is because his powerful mind, his universal knowledge, and energetic life overshadow what in another man would seem the genius of the born musician. His unquestionable musical gifts were, and ever have been, treated as a subordinate feature of his active life. And yet, however, we are very little inclined to call him a musical layman. To our mind he can only fitly be described as occupying a position between the professed musician and the enthusiastic lover of serious music. This is his true place. We should experience a difficulty if we classed him with the acknowledged masters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and he certainly was more than an ordinary amateur; we have therefore, after much careful consideration, adopted a middle course, and in so doing consider we have rightly placed our master.

And now, we would ask, is it to be supposed that such a man was incapable, as some critics assert, of inventing a simple melody, a practice in which even the most superficial of dilettanti delight? Is it conceivable that a man engaged so many hours a day in singing hymns would not have exercised unquestionably high musical attainments in the inventing and setting of musical phrases to words which were to be

the constant utterance of his followers? We might, we think, in fairness concede to him the ability of at least composing simple tunes to the poems of his own making, and, if we do this, may it not be that it was in the singing of these very hymns that, as Walther puts it, "he never seemed to tire." Those of his critics who have vehemently contended that he was incapable of musical invention seem to us to incline to the improbable and unnatural, for no other reason than that having once formed an opinion, they are determined to adhere to it even when confronted with overwhelming testimony to the contrary, and dispute what is really incontestable merely because it is in conflict with their own narrow-minded judgment.

Turning now to an examination of the evidence supporting the authenticity of original compositions usually ascribed to Luther, we must admit that the investigations of various historians have proved very unfavourable to the inventive ability of the Reformer. Many melodies which in years gone by were without question attributed to him have been shown to be the work of others; indeed, even those which are most intimately associated with the name of Luther, and which are almost universally conceded as his original work, cannot be proved to be so by any positive testimony. But while we cannot emphatically affirm on the one hand that he was an original writer, so no one can dogmatically assert the contrary. We are entirely without any conclusive evidence one way or the other. We frankly admit this; but having done so, it is not for critics biassed by religious bigotry or blinded by prejudice to thereupon assume the opposite, and declare that the Reformer was incapable of musical invention. It is a failing of our nature that having once begun to doubt, we not only reject the improbable, but also the closely related probable, even though it be supported by irrefutable testimony.

We have pointed out before that over-zealous co-religionists had credited Luther with the invention of a much greater number of poems and melodies than was his due. Of verses perhaps the greatest number was that ascribed to him by Sethus Calvisius in 1596, fifty years after Luther's death, the majority of the melodies also being considered his. As time wore on the number of his musical inventions has been curiously diminished, until now not one is left to tell of the gifted monk. Before Rambach's

work on "Luther's Merit as a Sacred Composer" appeared in 1813, the number had decreased to thirty-two. Rambach himself admits only twenty-four; Koch, in his "History of Church Song" (1882), nine only; Reissman, in Volume I. of his "History of Music," eight, and amongst these he considers three genuine and five doubtful; Schilling's "Universal Lexicon," six; Von Winterfeld and Mendel's "Musical Lexicon," three; Kade, in his "Luther Codex" (1871), only the well-known Luther hymn, "Eine feste Burg" ("A firm fortress," or, as it is rendered in the Anglican hymn books, "God is our refuge in distress"). Even Kade, when some six years later he published the "Oldest Wittenberg Hymn Book," inclines in his introduction to the belief that the Luther hymn was the work of Johann Walther; whilst Bäumker, in a pamphlet published in 1880, and again in his "History of the Tonal Art in Germany up to the Year 1881," emphatically denies Luther's right to the authorship of this celebrated melody, and rejects at the same time Kade's suggestion as to the probable composer. According to Bäumker, it would appear that the Reformed Church in its early days could not boast of one single melody which was the outcome of Evangelical thought or musical practice. This *testimonium paupertatis* disparagingly cast at the religious enthusiasm and musical invention of the earliest disciples of the new creed is both hazardous and extravagant.*

In considering how far the personal influence of Luther might have affected Church song, it is a matter of importance to know exactly the extent of his musical acquirements, and whether he was or was not capable

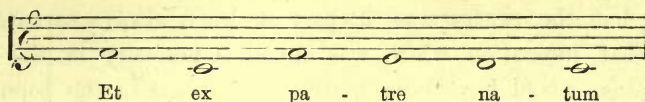
* Such a judgment argues a lack of historical acumen which is to be regretted. Great national agitations have at all times given birth to popular melodies, the outgrowth of an enthusiasm that seems to have identified itself with the feeling of the times. We have the Charlemagne "Plaint," besides a great number of mediæval sacred folk-songs and pilgrim hymns: the songs of the Hussites; "Richard, O mon Roy;" the song of Prince Eugène; "Rule Britannia;" the marches of Hohenfriedberg and Dessauer; the "Marsellaise;" the melodies invented to the poems of Arndt and Körner during the rise of the Germans against French oppression; and, lastly, the "Watch on the Rhine." Is it conceivable, then, that the Reformation era—perhaps the greatest, and certainly the most far-reaching in its influence—should of all national agitations have been without its popular representative melody? No; and neither can we doubt that the leader and principal actor in the religious war, endowed as he was with high musical gifts, would have been behind very second-rate musicians who, fired with enthusiasm, have proved themselves capable of the invention of popular melodies. What a musical layman like Rouget de l'Isle could do might surely be admitted in a man of Luther's capabilities.

of inventing an original melody. A man who has the ability to set his own poems to music might surely be credited with an understanding better able to appreciate and value the works of others, than that of those who do not and cannot feel and think in musical tones. The influence of such a master must have had great weight on the musical settings of poems, which formed so important an element in a religious service of which he was the acknowledged head. We will merely recount the names of those old Protestant masters who have made the "Luther Hymn" a theme for their own imaginative elaboration: Johann Walther, Georg Rhau, Stephan Mahn, Lukas Osiander, Johann Ekkard, Hans Leo Hassler, and Johann Sebastian Bach. If we accept Luther as the composer of this melody, which was used by so many Evangelical masters as a *cantus firmus*, and in which the spirit of the Reformation is, it might not be inaptly said, quasi-musically crystallised, then has the Reformer exercised a deeper and more lasting influence over the spirit and character of Protestant Church song than if he had been a mere adapter of existing popular tunes.

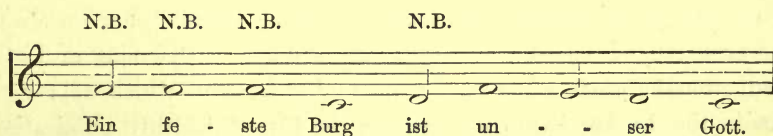
We will now carefully examine the reasons put forward by Bäumker in support of his contention that Luther was neither the composer of the melody to "Isaiah the Prophet" nor of that known as "Luther's Hymn," both of which, until within the last two or three years, were universally regarded as the original compositions of the great Reformer. Bäumker asserts—and this is his principal argument—that Luther constructed both the above hymn tunes from certain melodic phrases of Gregorian song which are still to be found in the old Catholic Liturgy, and quotes in support the *Graduale Romanum* (Liege, 1854) and Mettenleiter's *Enchiridion Chorale* (Ratisbon, 1853). We will endeavour to see how far our critic is right in his supposed suggestive phrases of the Gregorian chant. Bäumker begins his charge by selecting one of the old liturgical tone-phrases, and placing it side by side with the opening strains of the Luther hymn, points, as he thinks, to the reproduction of the former in the latter.* But this very first parallel falls to the ground, and we are convinced at once of the empty sophistry of the whole proceeding. It is almost idle to contend that in the half-dozen notes which he gives us from the *Cantus Gregorianus* we see the original of "Ein feste Burg." What

* See Part 10 of Robert Eitner's monthly musical publication of 1880.

musician or layman, we would ask, would recognise in the following succession of notes the beginning of the well-known hymn?—



This passage might be likened to almost anything, but certainly cannot with any sense of the fitness of things be said to resemble the Luther melody. In repeating the first note to the words "*Ein feste Burg*" (a firm fortress), Luther seems to symbolically point the fixity of his belief. This characteristic defiant beginning of the old Protestant hymn is wanting entirely in Bäumker's supposed parallel. Unquestionably the thrice-repeated F was *not* an accident; and any composer who has due regard to the appropriateness of music to words would immediately admit the intention of the author. We print the first notes of the hymn as they appear in Walther's writing:—



The Luther song excised of the three powerful opening notes would be without helmet and breastplate, and would assuredly have failed to kindle that combative spirit in the followers of Protestantism which it is well known to have done. The repetition of the F, as every one must acknowledge, is the strong characteristic feature of the hymn tune, whereas in the old *cantus* no more weight can be attached to the single F than to any of the other notes. But Luther was the child of a different age to that during which the Gregorian song was created, and the warlike spirit of the Reformer is announced in the bold and vigorous opening of his melody.

Luther's feeling of tone, and the manner in which he expressed it by notes, was but the outcome of that new spirit which had been slowly developing itself prior to the great Reformation era. The form

by which he gave utterance to this feeling was that of the popular German Volkslied. The people's song had then nothing in common with the *Cantus Gregorianus*. They sang their melodies in flowing cadences; but the *cantus* was, in part at least, always executed *a parlando*. That intonation which was almost a necessity in the chanting of the *cantus*, would have been quite out of place in the popular song. In the Volkslied we have both rhythm and metre, but where are they in the *Cantus Gregorianus*? These two classes of song are distinctly opposed to each other. In the Luther hymn we have a strongly-marked rhythm, whereas in the *Graduale Romanum*, as given by Bäumker too, the notes are all of equal length, and entirely lack any special *accentus*. And where, in Bäumker's supposed parallel, do we find the D of the Luther song, under which the Reformer has put the word "ist" (is)? Again, how can it possibly be supposed that Luther, a poet, thinker, and Latin scholar, would have chosen the Gregorian melody of "Et ex patre natum" for his text, "A firm fortress is our God," words having no mental connection with the old Catholic Graduale? Further, in the old notation of the Luther hymn, Walther has clearly indicated that the first part should be repeated; but we find no sign of any repeat in Bäumker's assumed parallel, nor do we trace the well-arranged melodic and rhythmic periods conspicuous in Luther's melody, tonal periods made all the more clear by rests which appear three times in the Luther hymn as given in the Eitner monthly publication of 1880. But how could we ever have expected to find any melodic or rhythmically terminated periods in the Bäumker reference, since he has associated for his purpose melodic phrases of the old Roman liturgy totally unconnected with each other? His specimen is entirely devoid of any organic membering of parts. We have made a careful examination of the *Graduale Romanum* and Mettenleiter's *Enchiridion*, and in neither do we find the same continuity of tonal phrases which Bäumker puts forward in this example, and which he has so wilfully and unnaturally brought into connection with each other.

If we add to this that the melodic outline of the Luther hymn and those ill-joined fragments of the *Cantus Gregorianus* have not even the most prominent intervals in common, indeed not even that which gives to the melody a special character, then we ask ourselves how could any question of similarity ever have suggested itself, since even

in so short a phrase as the following the Luther melody cannot be said to be like the Bäumker extract?—

LUTHER:

bö - - se - - Feind mit Ernst

BÄUMKER:

a - - - Con- (wanting)

No, the melodies are dissimilar, and it is natural they should be so. The two examples represent two different styles of composition. The unity and organic construction of the outline of the Luther hymn, with its balanced descending tones at both ends of the two chief parts, and its continuous flow of melody, show a distinct imitation of the popular *Volkslied* with its incessant melodic flow. Bäumker's supposed parallel has none of these characteristics, and we cannot lay too much stress on the wilful association of totally unconnected phrases. Neither the *Cantus Gregorianus* nor the melodies of the *Concentus* can be compared to the song-like form of the Reformation hymn, nor were they sung in the same rhythmical cadences as the Luther hymn and *Volkslied*. In the *cantus* and *concentus* two and more syllables were frequently placed under the same note, and in such cases they were always intoned and not given forth in the distinctly separated tones of the *Volkslied* and Luther hymn. Before Bäumker set himself to judge of Luther's right to the authorship of the disputed hymn, we think he should have made himself acquainted with the two opposed modes of singing in vogue during the sixteenth century, *i.e.*, the intonation of the *cantus* and the cantabile singing of the German *Volkslied*. If our critic had done this—and we submit that this was the first necessary step to help him to a faithful judgment—he would never have attempted to force into a comparison with the bold martial Luther hymn scraps from Roman Missals, Graduals, and Antiphons. The Luther hymn was the outcome of a much later and altered time. And still more should our critic have been prevented from any such comparison by the indignant protest of Luther in 1525

against the "neither agreeable nor honest mixture" of Latin songs and words with good German mother-tongue. Luther, in his essay entitled "The Heavenly Prophets," says: "I should to-day rejoice if we had a German Mass. I live with that hope constantly before me, and should much like that our Mass had a true German style and manner. The one we have now, with its Latin tone and Germanic rendering of the Latin text, must be accepted as things stand, but it is *neither an agreeable nor honest mixture*. Text and note, accent, melody, and method of enunciation should be dictated by genuine mother-tongue and voice, or else all is mere imitation like that of monkeys."*

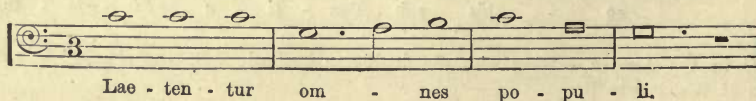
Is it to be supposed that the man who in such unmistakable language condemned the uncongenial mixture of Roman and German elements in the German Mass translated from the Latin, would have suffered such a distasteful association in the hymns of his own Church, or still less *have done it himself*? Has any one the right to assert, after such an emphatic protest, that the Reformer would have wedded "Latin tone and notes," taken from the Gregorian Mass, to his popular German verses—a practice which, in his characteristic drastic language, he had jeered at as "monkeyish," and with his desire before us that he would have all tones and words dictated by an enthusiasm for the genuine mother-tongue? Certainly it is historically proved that Luther translated Latin ritual songs for the service of the Reformed Church—songs which had traditionally belonged to the older Church for hundreds of years, but to these he set melodies framed on the lines of those of the *Cantus Gregorianus*, and was particularly careful that such should be in the spirit of those of the Romish Church. It is highly improbable that a man of the mind and will of Luther would have ever countenanced, in the service of a Church which he desired to make so wholly German, any setting of Gregorian tone-phrases to the newly-written German songs, and especially his own. The oft-quoted Biblical text that "new wine is not put into old bottles" is also applicable here. In most in-

* Latin tones and Latin notes are nothing less than the Gregorian melodies which Bäumker puts in juxtaposition with the Luther hymn. We notice, as a curious omission on the part of our critic, that every utterance of the Reformer tending to support some theory of his own is readily enough cited, but all references antagonistic to his deductions are studiously avoided.

over in his mind, and in such moments it might have been, as Walther says, that "he was joyful of heart from singing, and seemed never to tire." It does not seem at all possible that so enthusiastic and passionate a spirit as Luther would, in the hour of devotion, have turned to a dusty old Antiphonal to find a melody that should fit his fiery "Ein feste Burg." And be it remembered that it was neither a complete song with a continuous flowing melody, nor were the Latin words in keeping with his own verses, but detached phrases, gathered from five different parts of the old Gregorian song.* Is it to be credited that such a conglomeration should have possessed that kindling power which procured for the Luther song, with the rapidity of lightning, so firm a hold on the hearts of all Protestant people, whether of Germany or elsewhere, and which since the days of its inventor has been the battle-song of countless millions of Protestant devotees? We think not, unless there could be shown to exist a similarly patched work enjoying the same healthy longevity, and certainly not until more conclusive evidence is adduced than that brought forward by Bäumker.†

* The text alone of the fragments which Bäumker has associated shows that they were taken without any reference to their tonal or versal relation. One of his scraps begins and ends with the words, "Nobis sub Pontio Pilato;" in the melodic phrases which he asserts were the original of Luther's "Isaiah the Prophet" he couples "Mundi dona nobis pacem," "Mundi miserere nobis," and "Invisibilium et in unum Dominum." To assert that Luther or Walther formed the disputed melody out of such disjointed phrases would indeed be a curious and bold statement, seeing that the very phrases themselves are incomplete, the beginning and end being omitted, and only a few notes given selected from the middle. If such a proceeding be once admitted as the work of the Reformer, then all and everything might be proved in his disfavour.

† Since 1877 Otto Kade, whose merit as an historian of Luther and his time cannot be gainsaid, has ranged himself on the side of those critics who dispute the rights of Luther as the author of the "Luther Hymn." But Kade's testimony on this point does not seem to us to carry the same weight or show the same comprehensive knowledge as other portions of the work of this careful investigator. In his opinion Johann Walther was the inventor of the melody in question; and he bases his assumption on the fact that a tonal phrase almost identical with the opening bars of the Luther hymn is to be found in the Walther Song-book of 1524 (see page 98 of Eitner's edition of the Walther Song-book). From the second part of a four-part "Deus Misereatur" by Walther he quotes the following succession of notes used as a bass counterpoint to the tenor:—



Having now shown that Luther was something more than a layman unacquainted with tonal theory and practice, what shall we say of the influence which he exercised, either directly or indirectly, on the character and development of that music which he called into life by the service of

The issue then is narrowed down to this: because in one of the four parts of an *a capella* composition by Walther we find a group of nine notes bearing a certain resemblance to the beginning of the Luther song, was Walther therefore the inventor of the whole melody? We would at once throw up our brief if two questions which seem to us to sum up the whole case could be answered to our satisfaction: (1) Are the two successions of notes identically the same? and (2) does the reference from Walther form part of a *cantus firmus*? To neither do we obtain a satisfactory reply. It will be perhaps as well if we bring before our readers the two disputed passages, giving first the Luther song as noted down by Walther himself in the Luther Codex, and placing underneath the fragment from the Walther Song-book of 1524 as cited by Kade, further assisting the reader by putting both extracts into the same Church mode and the same *tempo*.

LUTHER CODEX:	
WITTEN- BERG, SONG- BOOK OF 1524:	<p style="text-align: center;">N.B. N.B.</p>

The N.B. will at once show the point of difference, and the *inversion* of the phrase is to be noted. It is contrary to all historical evidence that Walther should have written his own melody differently in the Luther Codex to the "Deus Misereatur," and again in his two elaborations of the Luther hymn in the year 1544. As regards the second point we are equally unable to agree with Kade. If the group of nine notes which he quotes from the Walther Song-book formed part of a *cantus firmus*, it would have been marked in the tenor of the polyphonic part to which it belongs. But it does not belong to the tenor, but to the bass; and Kade himself points to this, though at the same time drawing an entirely different conclusion to that which seems to us the only legitimate one. He says in reference to Walther's nine-note phrase: "It does not appear in that part to which the melody was usually allotted, because if it had appeared as a *cantus firmus* it might have been supposed that, like most *canti fermi*, it was a borrowed melody, but being his own he put it out of the reach of such suspicion." But this explanation does not seem to us to be sufficient. We are not aware of a single instance in which a composer of the fifteenth or sixteenth century has assigned to an original invented melody a subordinate position. To quote Josquin, Senfel, and the masters of the Gallo-Belgic and old French schools as having interlaced several *canti fermi* in the same composition, would not be to the point, as the cases are not at all parallel. In such works the *canti fermi* are of equal importance; there is no question of chief and accompanying voices. If Walther's melody was not a *cantus firmus*, then his claim as put forward by Kade falls to the ground, as its melodic progression, like that of all accompanying voice-parts, was wholly dependent on the unchangeable *cantus firmus*, just such a one as we

his newly-founded Church? We know that one of his earliest efforts was to replace the Latin Mass by one sung in the German tongue. During 1524 he spent a great part of his time at Wittenberg devising, arranging, and consulting as to the shape it should take and the music to be set to it.

find in the "Deus Misereatur." As an accompanying part, therefore, it is neither entitled to, nor does it claim, our special attention. We emphatically deny that because one may discover a contrapuntal accompanying voice-part of a polyphonic work of the fourteenth, fifteenth, or sixteenth century that resembles a certain phrase of any well-known melody, that it necessarily follows that the same man wrote both themes. All melodic phrases that did not appear as *canti fermi*, i.e., as the tenor of a polyphonic piece, were not the outcome of the free invention of the composer, but were dependent on the restricting grammatical rules arising from the relation of the contrapuntal voice to the tenor and the other accompanying voices. Such parts were not free melodies. Their phrasing was contingent on the form of the *cantus*, and it was impossible to determine beforehand what the tonal outcome would be. It was an involuntary evolution, not a free-will development of the composer. Such reminiscences of the Luther melody as Kade believes he has found in the nine notes of Walther might easily be found in numerous instances, and we would engage to find among the mass of contrapuntal parts that grew into existence during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, any number of fragments which, when put into juxtaposition with certain well-known *canti fermi* of the same period, would disclose a very remarkable similarity of tonal progression. Indeed, we are fully persuaded that any musician learned in the grammar of part-writing of the time, were he to set himself to discover certain fragmentary tonal successions among the accompanying voices, akin to a given *cantus firmus*, would almost assuredly find them. We do not mean to assert that he will find interval for interval, and note for note, but certainly something remarkably like it. The composer to whom the accompanying parts owe their origin had only one thought, and that was to write as well as possible, according to the strict academical rules of counterpoint, an underlying part to the tenor or *cantus firmus*. The question of beauty and expression of any such part, if taken into consideration at all, could have been therefore but a subsidiary one. Fettered melodies of this kind cannot be compared to those freely developed by the musical genius of the master, nor can we regard them as the germs of such. But even were we to admit that there are instances in which composers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries transferred their freely invented melody or *cantus firmus* from its original place of tenor to that of an accompanying voice part—and this is what it is asserted Walther has done—then we have the strongest conviction that he would have proceeded in a very different manner. We ourselves are not aware of a single example of this kind, but we admit it into the argument in order to show the fallacy of it. *Canti fermi* could only have been transferred either in their entirety, or a complete melodic phrase or a single *motivo* would have been taken. The latter is what Walther would have done, if we accept his group of nine notes as the origin of the opening phrase of the Luther melody said to have been invented by him, and as an accidental product, the result of conforming to contrapuntal law. If this were so, we are strongly of opinion that Walther would have worked his tonal group of nine notes more than once into his bass part, since such *motivi*, when used in a *cantus firmus*, always reappeared either in their original shape or augmented or diminished. Walther's nine-note tonal succession appears but the once, and is not even hinted at by any similarly constructed phrase. Again, we do not see how it can be contended that Walther

Walther seems to have been closely associated with his friend in this work, for he tells us : " He kept me three long weeks at Wittenberg to write choral notes to Gospels and Epistles, until the first German Mass should be sung in the parish church. I was present at the performance, and by direction of the doctor took a copy of the Mass to Torgau for presentation to His Grace the Elector." Walther further adds that about this time Luther himself " underlaid " choral notes to Gospels and Epistles, singing them to his friend as the criticising professor. In close sympathy with the spontaneous flow of music amongst his countrymen, the Reformer awarded the first place in the Evangelical Liturgy to the German Volkslied and all sacred melodies based on the popular form ; whilst it is well known that the Volkslied in the Catholic Church, whether Latin or German, never attained any liturgical importance. Finally, until stronger arguments than those yet put forward are forthcoming to disprove the inventive capabilities of Luther, we must acknowledge him as the composer of some of the most touching melodies of the Reformation era, of which " A firm fortress " and " Isaiah the Prophet " form part. Of Luther we might say that he laid the foundation of Evangelical Church music, the models of which were the two hymns just quoted. We have every reason to believe that Luther, besides paraphrasing certain Psalms and introducing them to his countrymen in the form of congregational hymns, also made the Psalm itself, in the words of David, an integral part of the Church service. Such a proceeding would coincide with his expressed wish that the people might be brought into closer communion with the Word of God, making them

was the author of the Luther hymn, seeing that, according to Kade, the Reformer did not write his verses until 1529, and that Walther's phrase of nine notes, and therefore the Luther hymn from which it is asserted Walther adopted this fragment, was composed in 1524. Is it then suggested that the melody was written prior to the invention of the words? We cannot believe that Kade is of this opinion, since he so enthusiastically enlarges on the appropriateness of tone to word in his Luther Codex, and of its complete unison with the spirit and feeling of the Reformation. Should Kade be inclined to reply that in Walther's melody he recognises but the suggestion of the Luther melody, then we would rejoin that a mere suggestion is not the realisation, and an accidental resemblance to the beginning of a melody is by no means the whole of the melody. We have, then, arrived at the conclusion that Kade's arguments, like those of Baumker, are not strong enough to disprove that Luther was the inventor of that hymn which for so many generations has borne his name. We believe that our deductions will not be altogether unwelcome to Kade, since he has ever acknowledged the musician in Luther.

actual participators in the religious ceremonies. His paraphrasing the principal Psalms would be but the preliminary to the introduction of the whole. With reference to his anxiety to make the people acquainted with the actual text of David's verses, he says: "To praise God in Psalms has been the practice since the earliest days of Christianity. St. Paul in his Epistles to the Corinthians and Colossians recommends the praising of God in sacred songs and Psalms." And when writing to his friend Spalatin in the January of 1524 he says: "Peace be with you. I intend, following the example of the prophets and fathers, to make German Psalms, that by this means the Word of God might be propagated among His people." Luther's success in his translation of Psalms affected the whole of his contemporaries. In 1526 Stolzer published his German Psalms: then we have the congregational songs of the Calvinists chiefly constructed upon Psalms. Certainly we should never have possessed the latter were it not that the Reformer of Geneva, notwithstanding that he entertained different views on certain points of faith, had great respect for Luther, and felt that the introduction of psalmody into the Church was very desirable. And it is to the initiative of our great Reformer that we ascribe the partiality of the Evangelical composers of the latter half of the sixteenth century, and therefore subsequent to Luther's death, for creating all kinds of works with psalmodic texts.

But Luther was not content that the Word should be sung in congregational song only. He longed for something higher, and demanded that the art of music should furnish him with something better than the ordinary hymn tune for Church service. His desire was to press the polyphonic *art-music* of the Catholic Church into his service, for he knew that that represented the best kind of part-writing, especially that of his favourite masters Isaak and Senfel. In the same year (1524) that the first popular Lutheran hymn-book appeared, printed on three sheets, consisting only of eight hymns and five melodies, there was also published at Wittenberg, under Luther's direction, a "Sacred Song-book for three, four, and five voices," which clearly proves that the Reformer was anxious that hymns should be sung to the Almighty not only in one grand unison, but also in the polyphonic strains that he so well loved. This is the oldest monument of polyphonic song that the Evangelical Church possesses, and points to the

far-reaching influence of Luther over choral song, and song, be it remembered, of one part more than the usual choral quartet.

Taking now a retrospective view of the general work of Dr. Martin Luther in the direction of Church music, we are forced to the confession that, even after making ample acknowledgment of all that has been done during the past few years to strengthen religious fervour by the aid of the tonal art, the great Reformer was far in advance of our own time. We feel, with a sense of shame, that the musical portion of the Evangelical service has not progressed but gone back, and that to such a degree that we doubt whether it will ever again attain that high state of excellence which Luther gained for it; for, in the Evangelical Churches of Europe and America, the musical part of the service (if we except the choral service of the Anglican Church) is restricted to the homophonic singing of hymns with organ accompaniment, and the very poor defective rendering of congregational song which we have heard in some churches has occasionally recalled to our minds the caustic yet rude language of Luther with respect to slovenly singing of the chorale—viz., that it was like the “braying of asses.”* Art-music has so entirely vanished from the Protestant service that even the simple hymn is no longer sung in four parts by the congregation. But, notwithstanding the exclusion of art-music from Church service, Evangelical song did, thank God, wend its way upwards from the days of Luther, until it reached the glorious climax secured for it by Bach, and which, we might say without fear of contradiction, has never been surpassed. How many of the works of the great Protestant master or his important predecessors, we would ask, obtain a hearing now in the Evangelical Church as part of the service? Such performances as are given in sacred edifices do not take place during divine service but at other times, so that we can only regard them as sacred concerts.

After this digression we will now turn towards the man upon whom Luther so much relied in evolving and consolidating his Evangelical Church music. To Otto Kade belongs the honour of being the first to bring

* The “braying of asses” was originally applied by Luther to the Church singing of the clericals of German cathedrals and monasteries of the first half of the sixteenth century. He considered that it so destroyed the purport of liturgical song, that in censorious tones he exclaimed: “Some of them bleat the Psalms, and others shout in the stentorian halloos of the hunter, whilst some howl, murmur, and bray.”

the abilities of this modest and meritorious art-worker to the front and assigning to him his right and proper place. Von Winterfeld disputes his claim to any honours as an Evangelical tone-writer, but we incline to the views of Kade.*

Walther was born in Thuringia, not far from Cola, in 1496, and was therefore a compatriot of his great friend. About 1524 we find him holding the appointments of master of philosophy and bass-singer at Torgau in the chapel of Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony. It would seem that at that early period he had acquired some repute as a composer, for in 1526 we find Philip Melancthon speaking of him as "Composer to the choir." In the third edition of his hymn-book, published in 1537, Walther calls himself "Singing-master to the Elector of Saxony," and in 1545 he subscribes himself "Precentor in ordinary." In 1548 he was appointed chapel-master of the newly erected chapel at Dresden, the opening ceremony of which was publicly announced by order of the Elector Moritz at Wittenberg to take place on the 19th August, 1548. In 1554 he retired from this office on a pension, taking up his residence at Torgau, where he worked till his death in 1570. The musical genius of Walther shows itself more in the invention of melodies than in the treatment of scholastic counterpoint and the clever interweaving of polyphonic parts. Besides the disputed Luther melody "A firm fortress," Kade ascribes to Walther the melodies to the following verses of the great Reformer: "Be joyful now, dear Christians all," "O God, look down on us from Heaven," "Thus saith the foolish tongue," "A new song we upraise," and "In joy and peace I end my days." †

* Bäumker's reference to Kade's judgment on the merits of Johann Walther is in strange contradiction to the actual opinion which the champion of Luther's friend has actually put forward. The reader of Bäumker's "History of Tonal Art" would imagine from pp. 150, 151, that Kade thinks but poorly of Walther, whereas quite the reverse is the case.

† Although agreeing with Kade that the melody to this last hymn is not the great Reformer's, we do not admit it for the reason put forth by that critic. He is of opinion that the hot-tempered and passionate nature of Luther would not admit of his inditing a melody characterised by so much "calm placidity," "peaceful tranquillity," and "gentle submissiveness to God's will." To us, Luther is a man of universal parts, and we think that a quotation from Schiller might well be applied to him—that in him were coupled the "stern and the yielding," the "vigorous and the gentle." Side by side with heroic grandeur we find traits of the tenderest sensibility and the most inoffensive humour. Perhaps the most striking examples of such opposite characteristics are the "Plaint of the words to Luther" and "Frau Musica."

To Walther belongs the credit of being the first to harmonise the sacred melodies in the manner which hitherto belonged to secular song, for notwithstanding Walther's superior talent as a melodist, yet his gifts as a musician impelled him to harmonise hymns in the same way as the popular *Volkslied*. His was the honour of introducing the *nota contra notam* into the Evangelical service. The *cantus firmus* in Walther's



Fig. 196.—Title-page of the Tenor Part of the Wittenberg "Sacred Song-book," published in 1524.

compositions is almost always given to the tenor. In the year 1524 he published the first edition of his Wittenberg "Sacred Song-book," consisting of forty-three songs, and of these only one has the *cantus firmus* in the treble. In addition to the simple melodies we have referred to above,

This compound nature of the worthy man is also to be found in his sacred songs: his "I come to thee from Heaven above" is full of "peaceful tranquillity," and "Give us peace" of "calm placidity," and "In joy and peace I end my days" of "submissiveness to the will of God." And it seems to us that with the musical gifts of the Reformer he might certainly have been capable of supplying his own verses with a suitable melody. It is strange that this poetical proof should have received no attention at the hands of Kade.

the book contains a number of more highly-developed and ingeniously-worked compositions. From among the simpler pieces Kade singles out "In joy and peace I end my days" as deserving of special mention on account of its pathetically touching expression, and he does not laud it too highly when describing it as a "real gem." Amongst the more ambitious works, the opening phrases of the Pentecost song, "Now pray we to the Holy Ghost" stands pre-eminent for ingeniously developed themes. The thematic working of "God the Father, be with us," is also of a high order, and like "Now pray we," is written for five voices. A number of other compositions in this work, however, scarcely rise above the level of a mediocrity somewhat common among German musicians of that period. We are indebted to the researches of Kade for the discovery of the earliest edition of Walther's polyphonic hymn-book, the title-page of the tenor part of which we have given above.

We have been greatly touched by the warm friendship that existed between the Reformer and Walther; indeed, their personal friendship possesses for us as great a charm as the interest we feel in their musical connection. At the first meeting of the two men, when by the command of the Elector of Saxony the old chapel-master Ruppich (also called Rupf) and Walther went to Wittenberg to advise with Luther in arranging the first German Mass, the Reformer at once selected the younger man, Walther, as his coadjutor, and no doubt this was owing to the impression that Walther created in Luther as a man. On that day a firm friendship was cemented between the two men, a friendship which continued to their death. Luther always spoke of Walther in the most affectionate terms, referring to him in his correspondence as "his beloved *componista* of Torgau." The great reliance he reposed in Walther is shown by his sending one of his sons to school at Torgau with a warm letter of introduction to the master. The letter bears the date 26th August, 1542, and was therefore written by Luther just prior to his death. Among other requests he begged Walther to pay attention to the musical training of the young man, saying, "Ego enim parturio Theologos, sed Grammaticos et Musicos parere etiam cupio" ("I beget theologians, but I desire also to beget grammarians and musicians"). Kade also draws attention to the common bond of friendship that united Luther and Melancthon and Walther, and, we may add, that intimately associated

with their friendship was their common love for the practice of the musical art. A contemporary of Luther, after referring to the Reformer's habit of engaging in musical practice after the evening meal, goes on to say "beautiful and charming motets by Josquin, Senfel, and others were sung. Luther often invited experienced singers to his house, constituting a sort of family choir, Philippus (Melancthon) forming one of the number." Walther was not only a musician, but also a poet. The following lines are written by him in praise of his immortal friend:—

"Awake! awake! thou German land,
Thou'st slept full long enough:
Think what the Lord has done for you,
For what ye were created.
Think, too, what God has sent to you,
Confided you his highest pledge,
Now well may ye awake."

We do not think that there exists another document that can so well describe the simple, devoted, and modest character of the Torgau master as the short preface written by himself to the 1537 edition of his "Sacred Song-book." The master says: "It is not surprising that music at the present time is so much despised, since all the other arts which one should and ought to cultivate are counted as nothing. But thus it is, because the devil contemns everything pure and holy. However, by the grace of God, the Papal Mass and all that appertaineth to it has been overthrown, even though the devil on his side tries to destroy all that he can if he thinks it pleaseth God. But that our noble art may not altogether be destroyed have I, in praise of the Lord and in defiance of the evil one, again written down the songs printed some time before at Wittenberg, correcting and arranging the old ones with care, and adding several that are new, some of which are for five and some for six voices. I pray, therefore, all pious Christians to deal gently with my shortcomings, and in honour of God, and for the improvement of our art, to do the like or better. And although there may be much in my songs deserving of criticism, I leave them to the gracious judgment of all, as I am in this art but a pupil. And now I commend all devout souls to God the Almighty, and may He give us all His grace. Amen."

We have recognised in Walther the zealous and active co-operator of Luther in the arrangement of Evangelical Church-song. It would be a

matter of scarcely less historical interest to note those composers, be they Protestant or Catholic, who were influenced by the same musical feeling as the Reformer, and who have continued in the same spirit. Generally speaking, this would include all the prominent German composers of the sixteenth century, and such of the musical dilettanti that recognised in the Reformer a man of undeniable musical genius, and accepting his teachings, expanded and improved on them, as far as their abilities admitted, the art-music of the Reformed Church.

Luther's influence is chiefly traceable in those writers who, during and subsequent to his lifetime, loved to set to music the Psalms and such versified Psalmodes as were then in existence. It will be remembered that this was the favourite work of Luther, nearly all of his hymns being paraphrased psalms. His first prominent imitator was Lukas Lossius, Rector of Luneburg. Lossius published at Nuremberg in 1553 a collection of melodies entitled "*Psalmodia, hoc est cantica sacra veteris ecclesiae selecta*," which bear a striking resemblance to those psalmodic melodies found in Luther's home subsequent to the Reformer's decease, and which are ascribed to him. The work gains an additional importance from a preface written specially for it by Melancthon in 1550. Ambrosius Lobwasser, Professor at Königsberg, made in 1573 a translation of Marot and Béza's French metrical Psalms, originally versified for the Reformed Church of the French-Swiss, the German master adapting to his translation the four-part tunes composed by Goudimel for the French verses. The energetic exertions which Luther made to propagate the Psalm-song were continued with undiminished vigour by German writers after Lossius and Lobwasser. In 1586, "Fifty Sacred Songs and Psalms arranged contrapuntally for four voices, so that a whole Christian congregation may unite in the singing of them," were published at Nuremberg by Lukas Osiander. In the polyphonic writing of this hymn-book the melody is to be found, without exception, in the soprano, thereby facilitating greatly the participation of the congregation in the hymn, the whole being harmonised in the manner of a chorale. In 1594 we have another setting of Lobwasser's Psalms by Marschall, also arranged for four voices. Between 1567 and 1578 appeared "*Secular and Sacred German Songs*," for four and six voices, by Antonius Scandellus, born at Brescia, in Lombardy, chapel-master at Dresden up to 1580. In this collection there are several with most expressive melodies, *e.g.*, "Praise

the Lord, for He is gracious," a melody popular with Evangelical congregations of to-day.

The next important master of this period is Jakob Kallwitz, according to his works a man of much individuality. After the fashion of the period he adopted the Latin rendering of his name, Sethus Calvisius. Born at



Fig. 197.—Sethus Calvisius.

Gorschleben in Thuringia in 1556, the son of a poor day-labourer, he became celebrated as a mathematician, chronologist, composer, and musical savant. In 1582 he was appointed cantor at Schulpforta, resigning this office in 1594 for that of cantor in St. Thomas's Church at Leipzig. Calvisius was the first of that celebrated roll of cantors of the Church of St. Thomas, a roll on which is inscribed the name of Sebastian Bach. Perhaps the best known of Calvisius' works is the excellent collection of musical compositions which he published under the title of "Church Chants

and Sacred Songs of Dr. Luther and other pious Christians, which it is the custom to sing among the Christian congregations of this country, together with several hymns, &c., contrapuntally arranged for four voices, and put into good order, by Sethus Calvisius, Cantor of St. Thomas's." This work was published at Leipzig in 1596, and before 1622 had run through five editions. The master's musical setting is distinguished by a rich and independent membering of the parts which form the chorale. His harmonies are based chiefly on the *nota contra notam* of the period. The Latin title of this work is "Harmonia cantionum ecclesiasticarum a M. Luthero et aliis viris piis Germaniae compositarum 4 voc." His collection of "The Psalms of David, newly arranged for four voices" (Leipzig, 1617), is also an important work. As a master of harmony both rich and complicated, we have much evidence in his skilful setting of "The 150th Psalm for twelve voices and three choirs" (Leipzig, 1615). The library of St. Thomas's School still possesses among its manuscripts several psalms, motets, and hymns by this master. He died at Leipzig in 1615, having refused in 1611 an offer of the chair of mathematics at Wittenberg.

The abundant crop of tonal masters who enriched the Protestant service by psalms, motets, and German sacred songs was succeeded by a number of composers who devoted their attention to the musical interpretation of the Passion of our Lord as set forth in the Gospels. From among these we single out Joachim a Burck, who in 1568 had written four "Passions" according to the four Evangelists, for four voices, adding a second one according to St. Luke in 1597 for five voices. Burck was born near Magdeburg in 1546, the year of the birth of Luther. For some time he held the office of cantor at Mühlhausen. He is credited with the composition of forty Christian songs and forty-one short hymns in praise of the marriage state, besides several *Odae Sacrae*. The popular German melodies to "O how fleeting" and "Lord, I have sinned" are also generally ascribed to him. In the Leipzig Song-book of 1587 we find "Passion Music" by Nikolaus Selnecker. The whole of this work is, even after making full allowances for the period, oddly antique in its character. The discourse of the Evangelists and the ejaculatory utterances of the infuriate mob are treated for four voices, either *semi-recitando* or in the simple chorale form. The performance of this and other "Passions" in the Leipzig Church was always preceded by the singing of Luther's chorale, "In deep distress to Thee, O Lord, I cry,"

by the whole congregation. The Passion music according to St. John by Bartholomæus Gesius, published at Wittenberg in 1588, is a work of higher pretensions, and is conceived in true dramatic spirit. The opening chorus for five voices is furnished with the following appeal to "pious Christians"—"Lift ye your hearts to God, and listen to the sufferings of your Lord Jesus as described by St. John." The Gospel narrative is intoned by a solo tenor, whilst the words of the Saviour are everywhere given to a full four-part choir; Peter and Pilate are each represented by a three-voiced choir with the alto as bass, the shouts and cries of the crowd being rendered by a five-part choir. One of the earliest "Passions" in German is that of Stephani, written during the century of the Reformation, and published at Nuremberg in 1570. That the love with which all German people sang the music of the Passions and Psalms in their native tongue and in the language of Luther's translation can be traced to the influence of the great Reformer upon his countrymen, is an indisputable fact. Indeed, not only were Evangelical writers affected by the genius and work of the man, but also a few Catholic masters. We have already alluded to the composition of certain sacred German songs by the Italian Catholic writer Scandellus, and now we note his original Passion music set to words in the German vernacular. This is an incident which deserves to be specially marked, and in a history of music ought not to be forgotten. The story told by the Evangelist is given forth in flowing recitative, all the *personae* (with the exception of Christ and the mob) being represented by two and three voices, the parts of the Saviour and the clamorous crowd by four voices. The Catholic master Scandellus entered the service of the Protestant Elector of Saxony at Dresden, seceding in his riper years from the Romish Church to that of Luther. This is not the only case present to our minds of masters of the Catholic Church using the German vernacular in several of their sacred compositions. We have already drawn attention to a prominent Netherland Catholic master who, taking up his abode among the German people during the Reformation era, adopted their language for his Church works.

One of the last of the Evangelical tone-masters that seems to have been under the almost direct influence of Luther was Johannes Eccard, a most prominent pupil of Orlandus Lassus. Eccard was born at Mühlhausen in 1553, seven years after the Reformer's death. In 1578 he was appointed

director of the private orchestra of Jacob Fugger, merchant-prince of Augsburg. Later he entered the service of George Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg-Anspach, following that prince to Königsberg in 1583. In 1608 he received a call to Berlin, and was there installed as chapel-master to Joachim Frederick. He held this appointment for three years only, dying in 1611. His most important work was "A Collection of Fifty-five Sacred Melodies for Feast-days and Holy-days, including Psalm and other Hymn Tunes." With respect to this collection Dommer most justly observes that among them are to be found "many real diamonds." The participation of the congregation in these sacred songs was greatly facilitated by the melody, without exception, being given to the treble; the accompanying voice-parts were also of so simple a character, with so little movement, that there was no danger of preventing the melodic outpourings of the musical layman. It was just this style of writing that Luther laboured so earnestly to introduce into his Church service. He wished to provide, outside of the highly-developed art-music, an *a capella* polyphonic style of composition in which the congregation might join with ease. Eccard was also the writer of "Prussian Festival Songs for the whole year, for five, six, seven, and eight voices," published at Königsberg in 1598—a work deserving of praise, as it is scarcely less important than the same master's "Collection of Fifty-five Sacred Melodies." The form of the festival songs may be said to be new, inasmuch as it is somewhat between the motet and song. It is akin to the latter in that its melody lies, like that of the song, in the treble part, and exercises an influence over the accompanying voices, generally preserving popular Volkslied traits. It is allied to the motet, since its melody cannot be detached and sang alone, because it is contrapuntally dependent on the other parts. The sacred song as evolved by Luther had for its primary *raison d'être* its easy rendering by the congregation. In Eccard's songs it is developed to a climax that may also be regarded as the boundary between an art-music no longer of easy accomplishment by the ordinary layman, and a contrapuntally worked-out chorale whose melody savours of the popular Volkslied. From an examination of Eccard's compositions, we are of opinion that, dear as he is to us as a writer of sacred part-songs, he was more of a melodist than a contrapuntist, and we cannot class him with either Senfel, Isaak, or the disciples of the Netherland school in the

sense of a master of contrapuntal writing of the strict canonic style. But he who is acquainted with the melodic beauty of "Across the mountains wanders the Virgin," or the touching simplicity of "In dark Gethsemane suffers the Lord," is thankful for the treasure that Germany and the Evangelical Church possessed in Master Johann Eccard.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century a contrapuntal bareness in the accompanying voice-parts of congregational song began to make itself noticeable, a bareness which increased with every decade. The cause is not far to seek. So many improvements had been made in the organ, the skill of the performer proportionately increasing, that the contrapuntal devices which formerly were rendered by vocal song were, from the beginning of the seventeenth century, given to the instrumental performer, and polyphony, finding itself shut out from choral song, sought a new field of work, and one likely to prove more permanent.

In treating of those masters of the Reformation-era who were more or less influenced by the Lutheran spirit, we have dealt with nearly all

the prominent German composers of the sixteenth century. As to their leaning to any special school, it cannot be said of any one that he followed exclusively the teachings of either the Netherland or Italian school, for notwithstanding the undoubted sway exercised by these two great institutions, German tone-poets were largely acted upon by the general mental revolution of the time and by just such influences as can be traced directly to Luther. As we are about to take leave of Germany for some time, we propose, before closing the present chapter, to glance briefly at the development of other phases of the tonal art in the Fatherland, besides vocal and sacred music, both before and during the Reformation century.



Fig. 198.—Rubebe in the Hands of a Bal-dachin Figure in the Cologne Cathedral. Fourteenth Century.

Our last reference to the musical instruments of Germany was to those in use from two to three hundred years before the Reformation, including all instruments played with the bow, and we illustrated our remarks by drawings of Reinmar, Frauenlob, and the Schwerin Cathedral tablets of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It will be noticed that the Rubebe of Fig. 198 is not unlike the stringed instruments in Figs. 125 and 131 as regards the short neck and general form of the body, differing considerably, however, in the head (which in this case is pear-shaped) and the length of the bow. The great dissimilarity in shape and size of the three specimens of violins in Figs. 198 and 199, although all



Fig. 199.—Violin-Playing Console Figures. Fourteenth Century.
(From the Cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle.)

belonging to the same century, is very remarkable. The left-hand drawing of Fig. 199 shows us a stringed instrument with a neck already highly developed, differing from the German *Rotte* in the important items of body, neck, and sound *f's*. The short thick-set bow, on the other hand, is very similar to that of the *Rotte*, and would to-day be considered as more fitted for a double bass than a violin. The little graceful instrument in the hands of the angel on the right does not admit of any precise division of neck, body, or head, all three being merged into an elegant pear-shaped whole.*

* Rühlmann, in his "History of Instruments Played with the Bow," published by Vieweg, Brunswick, 1882, is of opinion that the two very differently-shaped instruments in the hands of the Aix-la-Chapelle console figures represent different periods of development of the

Our next illustration, taken from a "Death Dance" print of the fifteenth century, shows us a stringed instrument the body of which does not exhibit any indication of that slender waist introduced by the Italian violin-makers of the classical Cremona era. The neck seems to be altogether out of proportion to the body, and compared with that of the modern violin is much too long. The sketch of the bow—more like a sword than a violin-bow—and the way the performer is represented holding it, is curiously in keeping with the weird figure.

Fig. 201 is a copy of a drawing by the great German artist Albrecht Dürer, of the year 1514, and represents a bagpipe at the beginning of the Reformation century. It was about this time that the wandering minstrels of Germany began to take up their abode in towns, and to form guilds and confraternities.

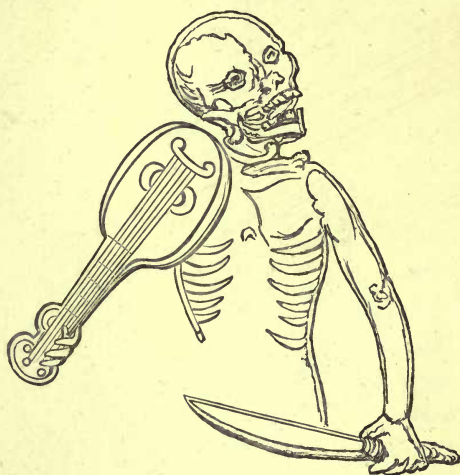


Fig. 200.—Skeleton with a Violin.
(From a Dutch Painting of the Fifteenth Century.)

In wealthy cities the guilds thus instituted were called "piper guilds," and were supported by the burghers. Sometimes the "pipers" enlisted in the armies of princes, serving as drummers and trumpeters.

Almost simultaneously with the establishment of the piper guilds private orchestras were founded by the princes of Germany in connection with their royal chapels. And yet we can scarcely look upon these as permanent institutions, since, as far as evidence is forthcoming, the first standing private orchestra did not really exist until the time of Maximilian I. In the days of Luther and Dürer minstrels roved the

"violin-lyre," an offshoot of the violin, which one historian says is to be met with for the first time in the eighth century in Ottfried's "Gospel Harmony," the earliest illustration of which we find in a German manuscript of the eleventh century, now in the Leipzig University library. It would seem, then, that Germany is the most probable birthplace of this oddly-shaped species of violin instrument.

country, sometimes singly and sometimes in bands, proffering their services at weddings and pageants, or depending on the bounty of the merry-makers at fairs, and oftentimes soliciting precarious coins from the



Fig. 201.—Bagpipe-Player.
(By Albrecht Dürer.)

generous peasant by voluntary street performances. It is one of this class of wayfarers that Dürer has depicted playing the old German Dudsack or bagpipe. The great artist seems to have had a special delight in figuring the instrumentalists of his day. To him we owe what appears to be an illustration of an entire town band. It is a mural painting in the Town-hall of Nuremberg (Fig. 195), and it is apparently intended to represent a town band appointed by the corporation of the old German city. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries such bands were not uncommon in the wealthy German free towns. We have not much informa-

tion as to the number constituting such a band, but to judge from our illustration, it could not have been large, Dürer giving us but seven instrumentalists. The principal figure in the foreground is a trombone-player, who seems to have drawn his instrument out to an unusual extent. To the right of the trombone-player is a cornet-player,

who, sitting astride the stone balustrade of the balcony, seems to be much at his ease. The two instrumentalists to the right of the spectator play what we believe to be the old German Bomhardt, a species of clarinet, concerning which we have already given some details. The three performers at the back are a second trombone-player, a drummer, and a flautist. From the posture of the two last performers, who apparently stand on a slight elevation, we assume that the flautist, with instrument raised ready to take up his part, has just given a friendly warning to his companion on the left that his time for joining in the performance is at hand. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it was the common practice to associate the flute and drum. Since it is within the range of probability that our players were sketched from life, we note with satisfaction their comfortable appearance, suggesting men in the receipt of a competence sufficient to place them beyond the anxious cares of this world's strife. As a sign of their official position they wear the corporation badge on their becoming uniform. Left and right of the performers are richly-attired persons who, we presume, were patrons of the town band, and, as we note the absence of the corporation insignia, were probably not members of the guild, but influential dilettanti, especially as one of the number—a young lady on the right—to judge from her dress, evidently belonged to the wealthy class. The drawing of the old man is generally supposed to be intended for Master Wohlgemuth, Dürer's teacher.*

The illustrations which we have given from what we might term "the musical pictures" of Albrecht Dürer are not isolated instances of the predilection of the great German painter. One could with ease compile

* With reference to the clarinet-looking instrument played by the two performers on the right, we are compelled to class it either with the Bomhardt or with the Schnabelflöte (big flute) of Germany, known in France as the *Flûte-à-bec*. At the time to which Dürer's painting refers it was the practice of instrumentalists to hold the *Flûte-à-bec* as if it were a clarinet. The instrument itself, however, does not show a clarinet development. From the simple shape of its bell we should judge it to be of the Bomhardt family. It is of interest to note that the trombone at this early period is already provided with a slide, and the performer of the sixteenth century would therefore seem to have had as much control over his instrument as the modern trombone-player. Martin Agricola (1486—1556), in his "Musica Instrumentalis," speaks of the "trombone aiding the melody by blowing and drawing out," thus supporting Dürer's conception of the player of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who performs on an instrument possessing a "slide."

a small volume from his works relating to the art, figures of instrumentalists, and of wealthy people surrounded with musicians. In the innumerable paintings, engravings, and woodcuts which Dürer has left behind



Fig. 202.—Three Angels Supporting a Shield and Blowing Trumpets.

(By Albrecht Dürer.)

him, many of the great artist's personal friends and acquaintances pose as instrumentalists. The music-making figures in many of his famed allegorical works are those of his art-associates; and as the master was an enthusiastic admirer and friend of the great Reformer, we may take it that his works contain the portraits of many celebrated men who furthered the great cause of the Reformation.

The three angels of Dürer (Fig. 202) are conceived in the true classical vein, and compare most favourably with the degenerate aberrations of the Rococo era, when the delight of sculptors and painters seemed to be to depict cherubim with

cheeks puffed out to an extravagant and unnatural degree.

Of the paintings by the celebrated German artist which relate to the tonal art and deserving special mention we may note: (1) a Madonna with two angels playing the lute and harp (1485); (2) Orpheus surrounded by the Ciconian women, the lute, and not the lyre, be it remarked, being the instrument of the demi-god; (3) a female angel in the foreground

of the "Rosenkrantz festbildes" (Garland of Roses festival picture) absorbed in lute-playing; and (4) the enthroned Virgin Mary surrounded by angels playing drums, flutes, and shawms, the child Christ stretching out His arms towards the musicians.*

We have stated already that for some time our history will lead us away from Germany and German musicians, and the nation to which we shall first turn will be the Italians. They it was who inherited the greater part of the Netherland doctrines, and who from the middle of the sixteenth century led the van of tonal culture throughout Europe. Of course we shall now and again meet a few German musicians, but they are all men without any special leaning, whose music is devoid of all national characteristics, and indeed, as far as a national independent style goes, inferior to that of the tone-poets of the Reformation era. For the next two centuries the Germans are the followers and imitators of other schools. Those masters of the Fatherland belonging to the sixteenth century with whom we have not as yet dealt all show themselves as the disciples of the old Venetian school. During the seventeenth century Germany quietly acquiesced in the teachings of the Venetian and Tuscan schools, and during the early part of the eighteenth century, like the rest of the musical world, it was dominated by the practice and theory of the Neapolitan school. It was not until the middle of the last century that a few highly-gifted German musicians struck out a path for themselves, and founded what has proved to be the national school of Germany. And although we see a crowd of musicians during this very period still under the influence of Italy and her schools, the acknowledged supremacy of Germany in the musical world for the past 150 years is owing to the earnest workings of a few serious masters at the very time their nation was at its lowest in the art-world. Inspired by the same genius and impelled to the same efforts, they firmly and surely laid the foundation of the truly great national German school. To

* Dürer seems also to have had a love for making the initial letters of such books as he illustrated the medium of musical subject. In Thausing's excellent work on Dürer, besides the musical arabesque surrounding the title-page, which the writer has compiled from drawings of the artist, there are many "musical" initial letters, such as music-making satyrs, two wayfaring minstrels, a fox enticing the feathered inhabitants of the farmyard by his playing a wood wind-instrument, and an angel playing the lute before the Virgin seated between a butterfly and a snail.

them Germany and the artistic world are deeply indebted, and we would almost go further and say that it is to Martin Luther that our acknowledgments are chiefly due, since it was his soul-stirring religious movement, with its popular chorale, that provided those zealous German musicians with a subject worthy of their labours, and one well calculated to call into active play the best part of their artistic being. The name that stands out in bold relief as the leader of German national song is Johann Sebastian Bach. Beyond all question he was the greatest tone-poet of his time, and even now the old Protestant master stands unapproached for grand and impressive sacred music, a music based on the art of Luther, and breathing religion with every note. Like the great Reformer, Bach was imbued with the simple faith of a child, and his music, like his faith, is simple, touching, grand, and eloquent.

In taking leave of Luther, and as a last instance of the great man's intimate relation with the tonal art, we reproduce a letter addressed by him to his friend, the gifted Ludwig Senfel. As Senfel remained a Roman Catholic to the end of his days, it says much for the tolerance and lofty nobility of mind of both men. We print it as given by Bäumker :—

“To the musician L. Senfel.

“Grace and peace in Christ. Although my name has become such a by-word of hatred that I am fearful that any letter I may send to you, my dear Ludwig, may not reach its destination, and will not therefore be read by you, yet my fears are overcome by the knowledge of the love for music with which God has graced you. It is this which sustains me and leads me to hope that my letter will not endanger you. Who, even in Turkey, would censure a man for loving art and praising the artist? Do I not respect and praise your Bavarian dukes above all others, notwithstanding their hostility to me, because they honour and encourage music? * There is no doubt that in the heart that can be touched by

* From this part of the letter we see that the princes of Bavaria, before Albert V., had distinguished themselves as patrons of the tonal art, and had received the warm acknowledgments of the Reformer, who, although the founder of Protestantism, did not stop to inquire, when princes recognised the merits of their learned subjects, whether they came from Catholic or Protestant. Bavaria continued the good work after Luther's death, Lassus receiving his call to Munich in 1557, the Bavarian dukes of the sixteenth century being worthily succeeded by Ludwig I., Maximilian II., and Ludwig II.

music many germs of the purest virtues exist; and those on whom music has no effect, and who are left cold, seem to me like blocks and stones. It is to evil spirits that music is hateful and unbearable. I am strongly persuaded, and I say it boldly, that after theology there is no art that can be placed on a level with music; for, besides theology, music is the only art capable of affording peace and joy of the heart like that induced by the study of the science of Divinity. A proof of this is that the devil, the originator of sorrowful anxieties and restless troubles, flees before the sound of music almost as much as he does before the Word of God. This is why the prophets preferred music before all the other arts, rejecting geometry, arithmetic, and astronomy in its favour, connecting music and theology in the closest manner, and proclaiming the Word in psalms and hymns. But why praise I music now? Why do I describe, or rather disfigure, so great a thing on such a scrap of paper? But my heart, which is full to overflowing, has often been solaced and refreshed by music when sick and weary. After this preamble, I come to the object of my epistle, that is, do you happen to have a copy of the song 'In pace in idipsum,' if so, will you send it me? The melody of this song has been a joy to me from my youth up, and that joy is intensified now that I am capable of understanding the full meaning of the text. I do not know whether there exists a part-setting of this antiphon. I will not burden you with requests to compose the song, as I believe you have already done so. Verily I think my life is drawing to a close. The world hates me, and will not suffer me. It is nauseous to me, and I despise it. Therefore have I begun oftentimes to sing this antiphon, and would much like to have it arranged for several voices, but as I am not sure if you have it by you, I send it written down in notes. You can, if it should agree with your desire, compose it again after my death. Our Lord Jesus be with you for ever. Amen. Pardon my free speech and discursiveness. My respectful greetings to the whole of the choir.

"Coburg, 4 October, 1530."

To Luther music was the high daughter of heaven. It raised him far above the dissensions of earth. On one occasion this intrepid man, undaunted by the attacks of opponents, boldly facing death and the grave, and bearing in himself the entire responsibility

of his wondrous deeds, sang the following tender and unpretentious verses :—

“ Oh, verdant spring so bright and fair,
And all ye birds that in the air
With gladsome song God’s praises sing,
Ye tidings of His mercy bring.

The nightingale above the rest,
Who will not call her song the best?
What heart’s unmoved when all around
Through forest glade is heard the sound?

Let’s thank the Lord, the praise is His,
Who has created all that is,
And made the nightingale among
The feather’d tribe the queen of song.

Like all that is and e’er will be,
She sings His praises joyfully.
Then loudly all your voices raise,
To sing His glory and His praise.”

CHAPTER XIV.

THE TWO GABRIELIS, PALESTRINA, AND THE CLASSICAL TONE-SCHOOLS OF ITALY.

IN the eleventh chapter we briefly alluded to the rise of the Venetian school and its founder Adrian Willaert. The school presents two distinct epochs in its art-work, and seems to invite the designation “The Old and the New Venetian tone-schools.” To the former belong those masters who were the immediate disciples and imitators of the Netherlander, and to the latter, native artists with styles presenting various points of contrast.* Some few masters belonging to the old school flourished at the early part of the seventeenth century, but it attained its highest state of perfection during the sixteenth century. Giovanni Gabrieli, who died in 1613, may be taken as the last representative of the Netherland teachings. The old Venetian tone-masters group themselves round the two Gabrielis, uncle and nephew ;

* The author has before dwelt on the characteristics of the two schools in “The Tone-Poets of Italy” (R. Oppenheim, Berlin, 1877).

Legrenzi and Lotti embodying the principles of the new Venetians. As regards the styles of the two schools, we find the new quite at one with the old in its invention of those stupendous double and treble choral Church works which have already commanded our admiration. Lotti and his co-workers loved to indulge their genius in creating tonal pictures crowded with rich and full harmonies, and were as prolific in their compositions as their predecessors. But here the parallel ceases. Their love for a manifold style of part-writing was the same, but the manipulation and leading of the various voices was carried out in very different methods. In the place of the majestic measured cadences of the old school, the new adopted a passionate and a more animated movement of parts. This emotional and spirited writing was not the accidental outcome of the genius of any one master; it had its origin in the great wave of cultured thought which affected the intellectual people of that time. But as we are dealing here with the old Venetians, we must defer our consideration of the newer school until later on.

We must revert to Cyprian van Rore, the compatriot of Willaert, and the man who above all others made a special use of the chromatic scale and chromatically-constructed intervals than any of his predecessors in the tonal art. This marked the beginning of the crusade against the exclusive use of the old diatonic Church modes. No doubt it was the outcome of the Renaissance and its revival of Greek art, inducing thereby a closer acquaintance with the three Hellenic scales—diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic. It was evidently felt that by a greater use of the semitone, and by a freer and more characteristic development of the individual parts, a truer tonal interpretation of the text, *i.e.*, word-painting, would be arrived at. As, however, neither Van Rore nor his contemporaries were acquainted with the laws relating to the following of chromatic intervals, their experiments in this direction often resulted in a very ill-sounding and crude species of composition; but if we are unable to accord them any great praise, yet we owe them thanks in preparing the way for a more faithful tone-painting of impressions and a freer portrayal of human emotions.

Although the representatives of the old school were mostly countrymen of Willaert, there were a few Italians who deserve our attention. The first important native artist was Gioseffo Zarlino, born 1519 at Chioggia,

in the Republic of Venice, dying in Venice, 1590. The celebrity of Zarlino rests more on his talents as a theorist than as a creating artist. His "*Institutioni Harmoniche*" is a collation of almost the entire scientific knowledge of the famous Italian tone-poets of his century, the lore of the contrapuntist and harmonist being fully discussed. It is a record of musical science and its application to the musical practice of his time. In the learned paper war between Zarlino and the two Florentines, Galilei and Mei, he shows himself an able scholar and a man of refined feelings, and compares most favourably with those of his bigoted, disputatious opponents. We shall refer to this famous controversy when dealing with the Tuscan school.

Another clever Venetian tone-master and disciple of Willaert was the monk Costanzo Porta. The writings of Costanzo show a fertility in contrapuntal contrivance which astonishes us; and his scholarly and masterly treatment gained for him the praise of all Italy.

But the greatest of all the Venetian pupils of the Netherlander was Andrea Gabrieli (1510—1586). No other master more faithfully reproduced the rich and effective contrasts of the popular double choir compositions than the elder Gabrieli; indeed, we might with truth say that the pupil infused into it a nobler and more elevated expression than that of the master. The descendant of an old Venetian family, Gabrieli first appears on the scene as a singer in the choir of St. Mark's, 1536, where thirty years after he was appointed organist of the second organ. In 1574 he was commanded by the Republic to write grand festival music in honour of the visit of Henry III. of France. Two cantatas for eight and twelve voices respectively were the result. The rich tonal colouring of these works is of a high order, and when rendered by voices they deeply impress the hearer. We should gather from the fact of the command coming from the Republic that the elder Gabrieli was one of those State composers, the first of whom, Ciconia and De Monte, we referred to in a previous chapter. The two cantatas have come down to us in Gardano's "*Gemme Musicali*," printed and published in 1587. They were performed in the evening of Henry's arrival, on the Grand Canal, which was brilliantly illuminated for the occasion. A fairy-like gondola, tastefully decorated, carried the master and the State officials who were appointed to greet the king. Willaert wrote principally for two choirs, but Gabrieli's predilec-

tion was for three choirs, and, on examination, his compositions of this class are found as skilful in construction as they are grand and striking in effect. An excellent "Magnificat" for three choirs by this master, heard as late as 1851, under the baton of Toepler, deserves special mention; as do the sixty-seven various compositions for six to sixteen voices, collected and published by Giovanni, 1587, at Venice, after the death of his uncle. As an organist Andrea seems to have excelled; and although it is recorded that when harmonising on his instrument he acted in the spirit of the old Church modes, yet, like Willaert, he made his harmonies the basis of his choral melodies.

The genius of the uncle was succeeded by that of the not less gifted nephew. Giovanni Gabrielli, of Venice (1557—1613*), was instructed by his uncle in composition and organ-playing. In 1585 Giovanni was appointed first organist at St. Mark's, and in 1609 we find him teaching the celebrated German master Heinrich Schütz, who had crossed the Alps with the sole purpose of studying music under the great organist. One of Giovanni's friends and a fellow-student under his uncle was a German, Leo Hassler, of Nuremberg. Indeed, Giovanni was altogether closely associated with Germany and German music, numbering among his most enthusiastic admirers and patrons the Dukes Albrecht V. and Wilhelm V. of Bavaria, and the Counts Fugger of Augsburg. Of his works we must single out the "*Symphoniae Sacrae*," published in two parts in 1597 and 1615. The first volume contains forty-five vocal compositions and sixteen instrumental pieces for from eight to sixteen instruments; the second, twenty-one instrumental canzonets for from three to twenty-two instruments. If Andrea blended voices and instruments together in some few of his sacred works in a clever masterly manner, it was left to his nephew to improve and perfect what the uncle had begun. Giovanni wrote for the old German Zinken (a wood wind-instrument, called by the Italians cornetti), the trombone, and violin. In the *Symphoniae* "*Surrexit Christus*," scored for voices and instruments, we find, according to Von Winterfeld, two cornetti, four trombones, as well as a band of first and second violins. Giovanni was not, however, fully acquainted with the nature and powers of the instruments he employed. He frequently gave the trombone a part as full of quick passages and embellishments as that of

* Not 1612, as is often incorrectly asserted.

the violin. And yet, notwithstanding these glaring errors of scoring, the Church compositions of the Italian master, when executed in the *adagio* time demanded by their character, are grand and impressive. They afford another example of the high degree to which the element of tone-colour was developed among the old Venetians. Even the united singing of three and sometimes four choirs did not suffice for them. The knowledge they possessed concerning the effects of sound produced by certain instruments impelled them to try the combination of vocal and instrumental Masses, and the result was not unsuccessful. To satisfy their craving for a rich and glowing tone-colouring they associated string, brass, and wood instruments with their vocal parts. This was the beginning of a new era in Church music. Compositions in the *a capella* style had held full sway in the Church for centuries, but with the introduction of instruments in the "Symphonie Sacrae," the way was paved for a more extended employment of instrumental music. It is strange that instrumental accompaniment should have been employed only in compositions of the "Symphonie" kind, but it was so, for not only the two Gabriellis, but also the whole of their contemporaries excluded it from all their other works.* Of the purely vocal compositions of Giovanni his madrigals, motets, magnificats, and psalms are the best; a setting of the fifty-fourth Psalm (in Luther's translation the fifty-fifth) for a seven-part male choir is both grand and majestic. With the death of the younger Gabrieli the old Venetian school ceased to exist; but beside the two Gabriellis there are other deserving masters who claim at least a notice, and first of these is Giovanni Croce (died 1609), Francesco Bianciardi, and Leone Leoni, a very effective writer in the *a capella* style.

In addition to its writers of Church music, the old Venetian school was rich in composers of secular vocal works. Of these the chief were Donati (1520—1603), Gastoldi (from about 1560 to 1607), and Pallavicino, who by their madrigals, villotes, villanelles, canzonettes, dances with vocal accompani-

* In a treatise by the author entitled "The Golden Age of the Tonal Art at Venice," published in 1876 by Virchow-Holtzendorff, attention was drawn to the most wondrous connection between the rich colouring of the painter and the musician, to the historical causes that induced such strivings in the artistic world, and to the deep mental relation existing between the two sister arts, and further, that climate, time, and place can and does affect two different arts in the same manner.

ment called balletti, and barcaroles, show themselves skilful writers of part-music. So marked is the similarity between these part-songs and those of Mendelssohn specially directed to be sung "in the open air," that we incline to the belief that the great composer of the nineteenth century was indebted for his idea to the old Venetians, his precursors by nearly three hundred years. The grace and charm of the quaint part-music of the sixteenth century tone-masters enchant us, in its reflection of the spirit of the Renaissance. F. Wüllner, in vol. iii. of his "Choral Exercises" (1881), has given us many examples of such part-songs, the selection of which has been made with care and discrimination. They contain, amongst others, "Love in the Bark" and "On Bright Days," two part-songs for five voices by Gastoldi, the original text of which has been altered to suit the times.*

We have spoken of the efforts made by the two Gabrielis to obtain a richer colouring with the aid of instruments; but the old



Fig. 203.—Playing Angel.
(By Fra Bartolomeo.)

Venetian school did more than associate vocal and instrumental music: it gained for the latter an entirely independent existence. First, as regards sacred music, we have a school of organists belonging to the Church of St. Mark. Both the Gabrielis were celebrated as organists. Andrea occupied at different times the position of second and chief organist of St. Mark's; and Giovanni published between 1593 and 1595 a work for the organ in three volumes, entitled "Intonazioni e Ricercari." Claudio Merulo (1532—1604) was even a greater organist than either of the Gabrielis. Merulo's Toccatas have greatly helped to a proficiency in modern organ-playing,

* The whole of these secular part-songs had their origin in the Frottole. If the Frottola approached the simple popular song form it grew into a Villota or Villanella; if it took a higher musical flight it raised itself into a madrigal.



Fig. 204.—A Female Lutist.
(From a Painting by Mieris.)

whilst his *Ricercati* are distinctly the forerunners of the fugue.* The favourite instrument for the accompaniment of secular song among the

* The old fugue, it must be remembered, was the Canon, although known up to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as the *Fuga*.

Venetians of the sixteenth century, especially among the higher classes, was the lute, called by the Italians the *liuto* or *lauto*, and also, on account of its tortoise-like shape, *testudo*.

Another instrument of the lute family was the choir-lute, over the body of which as many as twenty-four gut strings were sometimes stretched.



Fig. 205.—The Concert.

(By Giorgione. Now in the Pitti Gallery at Florence.)

Like most instruments, it had composers who specially favoured it, Marco d'Aquila and Francesco da Milano, both of whom exercised their art in the famous North Italian city. Music of a quick *tempo* seems to have been suited to the choir-lute, since fantasias and dances were written for it more than any other kind of composition. The writings of these two masters contain several dance pieces known as *Paduani*, *Gagliardi*, and *Correnti*. The

complicated "Intabulatura di lauto," *i.e.*, the notation of lute music, was not acquired without difficulty, and a thorough mastery of the instrument was only possible after concentrated and continuous study.* The great Italian painters, contemporaries of Zarlino and the Gabrielis, show a



Fig. 206.—Musical Group.

(By Veronese. Original in the Museum of Verona.)

marked preference, in such of their works as relate to music, for the lute. In Titian's "Venus" at Dresden, a page dressed in the costume of a Venetian nobleman is seen playing the lute. Of the female angels with which

* Händel often wrote for the choir-lute, employing it sometimes as an obligato instrument in the accompaniment of arias, &c.; *e.g.*, "Ode to St. Cecilia." The great Saxon always gave to his lutes similar passages and arpeggios to those which it is now customary to write for the harp. In the seventeenth century the lute was generally used in the accompaniment of recitatives.

Giovanni Bellini delighted to surround his Madonnas, the greater half are represented as lutists.

Other favourite instruments of the old Venetians were the Clavicembalo and Spinetto (the forerunners of the pianoforte), and also the



Fig. 207.—Musical Group.

(By Veronese. Original in the Royal Palace of Venice.)

violin and viola da gamba. In the celebrated picture "The Concert," by the renowned Venetian Giorgione, a monk is seen playing the spinet, listened to in rapt attention by a young Venetian nobleman. The performance would seem to have been a skilful one, since it seems to have caused the 'cellist to cease playing in order to congratulate his holy brother.

In "The Wedding" by Paul Veronese, now in the Louvre, the master has painted his two friends, Titian and Tintoretto, and himself, as musicians. Such paintings are of value to us, as they afford evidences of the practice of solo and concerted music among all classes of the Venetian people, and the popularity of it. The works of Veronese alone point to a universal practice of music which is very pleasing. Besides the two groups which we have given above, his frescoes in the Villa Giacomelli (also called Villa Barbaro), near Treviso, relate largely to music, the various instruments in use during his time being faithfully represented. Another celebrated painter, Carlo Saraceno, known as Il Veneziano, has in the Munich Pinakothek a charming picture of St. Francis, who, with upturned, beatified face, drinks in the heavenly music of an angel that soars above the bed of the holy man, playing the violin.

Simultaneously with the rise of the Venetian school, Rome acquired a glory which she had not enjoyed since the Middle Ages when she was the acknowledged centre of sacred musical culture, a glory that was to win for her the praise of all Europe. Rome was the city of the grand Palestrina, and by that master's aid was founded a school the fame of which can never die. In that school a theory and practice were taught which perpetuated that admired style of chorus-writing known as the "Palestrina style."* Strictly speaking, the school of Rome had never ceased to exist since the time of Gregory the Great. Its position as a school was always admitted, and it always exercised some sort of influence over the development of Christian music in other countries. Towards the end of the Middle Ages the tone-masters of Rome, like their *confrères* of Europe generally, became the disciples of the Gallo-Belgians and Netherlanders. Indeed, from the end of the fourteenth until far into the sixteenth century, the Netherland tone-masters, Dufay, Josquin des Près, Arkadelt, Goudimel, Dankerts, and Jachet van Berghem, lived, worked, and succeeded each other in almost uninterrupted succession as teachers, singers, and conductors at Rome. The Italians were therefore the direct pupils of the great Netherlanders, and the recognised conservators and professors of the tonal art, and Germany, instead of

* It would be as well to emphasise what has already been stated—viz., that Palestrina was not the creator of the style which bears his name, and that the writings of many of the old Netherland masters contain abundant proofs of this.



Fig. 208.—St. Francis.
(By Carlo Saraceno.)

going to Belgium for tuition, sought instruction from its trans-Alpine neighbours, the Venetians and Romans. The lead in music was thus transferred directly to the Italians, and the pupils showed themselves worthy of their masters. The reason of their excellence is clear. The Italian of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had far more aptitude for practically applying that which had been taught him than the German. To the impressionable Italian *form* was a gift. In 1870 the author drew attention to the fact that, with the exception of the art-song, not a single one of the more important art-forms which had in the course of time been developed in the tonal art originated with the Germans. But although Germany may not have created any of these art-forms, yet it will not be gainsaid that she has infused into them their deepest and most serious meaning. The precursors of Palestrina in whom the independent Roman school announced itself were—(1) Costanzo Festa, whose compositions are distinguished by as much nobility as grandeur and dignity (we are unable to give the date of the master's birth, but we know that he was singer in the Papal Chapel in 1517, and that he died in 1545); (2) Domenico Ferrabosco, born 1510; and (3) Giovanni Animuccia. Ferrabosco and Animuccia, together with the Spanish masters, Cristofano Morales of Seville, and Diego Ortiz of Toledo, seem to have been fellow-students with Palestrina under Goudimel in 1539, when that master was in Rome.

Giovanni Pierluigi Sante, or, as the musical world knows him, Palestrina, so called from the name of his birthplace, was born in 1514, according to Baini, in 1524. Palestrina, the ancient Præneste, is a small town about four hours' journey south-east of Rome. Pitoni says that the master was the son of peasant people, and that he first attracted notice when a boy by the pure tone of his voice, which, creating a favourable impression on the chapel-master of the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, led to better things. As some of the compositions of Palestrina bear a certain resemblance to the works of Arkadelt, some time "*Magister puerorum*" in the Papal Chapel, it is not impossible that, for a time at least, he might have been the master of Palestrina. In 1540 Palestrina entered the Roman music-school of Goudimel, and to the names of his fellow-pupils whom we have already mentioned, the name of Giovanni Maria Nanini is sometimes added. But this seems very improbable, since many creditable authorities fix the

year of Palestrina's entrance into the school as one and the same with that of Nanini's entrance into the world. Palestrina appears to have made rapid progress with his studies, as four years after we find him organist and choir-master of the principal church of his native town. In 1548 he married Lucretia, who afterwards bore him four sons, of whom Igino, the youngest, was the only one that survived his father. In 1551 Palestrina succeeded Arkadelt as choirmaster of the boys of St. Peter's. While holding this

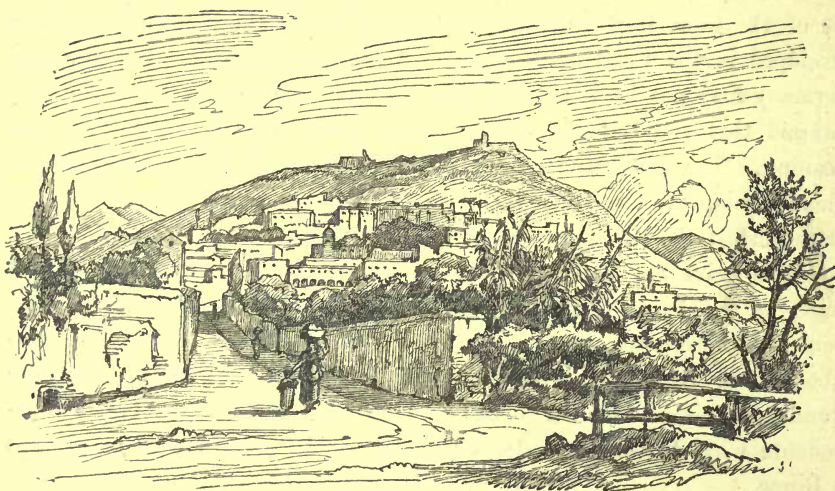


Fig. 209.—The Town of Palestrina.

appointment he composed several Masses for four voices, which he published three years later in one volume, dedicating it to Pope Julius III. The holy father rewarded his choirmaster by nominating him member of the Singers of the Papal College. This was a high tribute to the worth of the man, for the college had been instituted solely for the clergy, and this law had hitherto been strictly adhered to. But what seemed to be the advent of happiness proved to be the source of great and lasting sorrow. Paul IV., the successor of his patron Julius, urged on by the jealous envy of the clericals, dismissed the master from St. Peter's; and when later in 1564 Pius IV. appointed him "*Maestro Compositore*," their malevolent spite worked him yet much ill. Even the favour of a third Pope did him no good, but

rather added to his misfortunes. In 1565 Sixtus V. wished to appoint Palestrina chapel-master of the Sistine Chapel. The clergy looked on with envious eyes. They regarded this office as the property of their class, and their hatred of the layman was intensified the more. They even carried their complaints to the holy father himself, and were so violent and persistent in their opposition that Sixtus was compelled to issue a bull decreeing that any one of the singers of the Papal Chapel might, if he possessed the necessary qualifications, hold the office of chapel-master. Palestrina was anxious to propitiate his enemies, and with that view presented three of his finest Masses to the Sistine Chapel choir, but to no purpose. They were accepted, but with a lukewarm condescension that showed plainly the bitter feelings he had had the misfortune to arouse, and it was not until after the master's death that the Masses were entered into their choir-books. Perhaps the most important event of his life was the honourable commission he received from the Council of Trent to write a Mass which should serve as a model for future Catholic Church music. In order to consider the various points raised by the Council, the Pope appointed a commission of prelates, with Cardinals Borromeo and Vitellozzi at their head, who were empowered to call in the aid of professional advice, and report to him the result of their inquiries. One of the demands of the Tridentine Council was that in place of the complicated style of the Netherlanders, one more simple should be adopted. This, they urged, would tend to an intelligent rendering of the text, which, with the existing intricate canon law, was impossible. In reply to this invitation Palestrina instead of writing one Mass wrote three, the last of which he named "*Missa Papae Marcelli*," in memory of the holy father Marcellus, who had been very kind to him. It was performed before the Clerical Commission on the 28th April, 1565, and met with a success far beyond the most sanguine expectations of the modest composer. Each of the three specimen Masses was written for six voices, viz., soprano, alto, two tenors, and two basses. As to the form and style of these Masses. What is almost universally known as the "*Palestrina style*" was not originated by the celebrated Præneste master. The simplification of the complicated contrapuntal art, coloured with deep human feeling, was, we gladly admit, raised to a surprising state of perfection by Palestrina, but in some of the writings of the more advanced masters of the Netherland school we find that they had already discovered the uselessness and hindrance

of too closely adhering to strict canon law when they wished to speak in tones that should appeal to the human heart, and what Palestrina effected remained the model of Catholic Church music for generations. Still, in our opinion, historians have gone to extremes in the lavish praise they have heaped on the master's work. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century the greater half of musical critics have lauded it as the salvation of Christian music. But our critics were in error in what they believed to be the wishes of Rome and the object of the deliberations of the Council of Trent. It was not the exclusion of the song from Church service that was aimed at, but the adoption of a tonal service which would permit the participation of the layman as well as the clerical. Palestrina's merits are by no means lessened by this rectification of historical blunder. With the perception of a genius he saw what was wanting, and turning to his predecessors' works, selected from them just that which he felt could be moulded into such a form as would serve as a model for Church compositions of a high art-style. In developing and perfecting this art-form, he infused into it an intensity of human feeling which might with justice be called the "Palestrina style," though not in the generally accepted sense of the phrase, for although the germs of that style were to be found here and there in the writings of a few of the old Netherlanders, yet the masterly management of the voices and the beauty of the melodic phrases were entirely the Roman master's own. This combination of melodic beauty and clever part-writing is naturally to be found at its best in the master's most known works.

One of the chief events in the life of Palestrina, or to give the master his proper name, Giovanni Pierluigi Sante, was his appointment as chapel-master to St. Peter's at Rome in 1571, an office rendered vacant by the death of Animuccia. Palestrina was an intimate friend of Felippo Neri (wittily called by Goethe the "humorous saint"), a Catholic priest who arranged sacred dramatic performances in the oratory of Santa Maria Vallicella, by which he hoped to sustain the enthusiasm of his penitents and of such pilgrims as journeyed to his church. To these famed sacred dramas Palestrina supplied music for a chorus. Another important event in the master's life was the founding a school of music at Rome in conjunction with his younger friend Giovanni Maria Nanini. For nearly a century the teachings of this school largely influenced the style of the whole of the composers

of Europe, the majority of whose works are imbued with what we have endeavoured to describe as the "Palestrina style." On the 2nd February, 1594, the great Italian died. In his last moments he was attended by his confessor and friend Felippo Neri, who administered to him the extreme rites. By order of the supreme council of Catholic prelates, his body was entombed in the Basilica of the Vatican with the honours given to a cardinal and prince. Palestrina had been a great favourite with his countrymen, and they showed their respect by attending the distinguished master's obsequies in large numbers.

In looking at the great number of immortal works which the world owes to Palestrina, we cannot fail to perceive that, though like the children of one father, they possess a common family likeness, yet, like the works of all great poets and painters, they exhibit a diversity of style according to the occasion for which the work was composed and the stage of development of the master. Although we do not profess to distinguish



Fig. 210.—Palestrina

like Bainsi ten different styles, yet we can clearly trace a difference between the writings of the master when dominated by Netherland contrapuntal law, and those of the "Missa Papae Marcelli" class, the latter of which constitute the true "Palestrina style" section. We might go a step further and point to the difference between this celebrated Mass and the "Assumpta est Maria," in which there is a fusion of the grand simplicity of the "Papae Marcelli" and the majesty of the Gregorian melodies of the old Roman Liturgy. Again, some of the best of Palestrina's Church compositions are conceived in the strict style of the Netherlanders, *e.g.*, his *Stabat Mater*, *Lamentations*, &c. Like no other writer before

or after him, the master has shown in these creations how a genius can produce the most thrilling and incomparable effects without the use of complicated part-writing, or highly-developed art-forms. The short extract which we give from his Passion-music will enable the reader to form for himself some idea of the genius of this sixteenth century master. The effect of this little piece will be greatly intensified if it be rendered by voices rather than on the piano or organ.

No. 211. "TENEBRAE FACTAE SUNT," BY GIOVANNI PIERLUIGI DA PALESTRINA.

Tranquilly. Lento. *p* *Firmly marked. cres - cen - do. f*

SOPRANO. Te - ne-brae fac - tae sunt, dum cru - ci - fi - xis -

ALTO. Te - ne-brae fac - tae sunt, dum cru - ci - fi - xis - -

TENOR. Te - ne-brae fac - tae sunt, dum cru - ci - fi -

BASS. Te - ne-brae fac - tae sunt, dum cru ci - fi - xis -

dim. *p* *Recitativo. a tempo.* *mf*

sent Je - sum Ju-dae - i. Et cir-ca ho-ram no - nam

sent Je - sum Ju-dae - i. Et cir-ca ho-ram no-nam ex - cla-

xis-sent Je - sum Ju-dae - i. Et cir-ca ho-ram no - nam

sent Je - sum Ju-dae - i. Et cir-ca ho-ram no - nam ex -

mf \wedge *cresc.* *f* *p più.*
 ex - - cla - ma - vit Je - sus vo - ce mag - na: De -
cresc. *f* *p dolce.*
 - ma - vit Je - sus Je - - - - - sus vo - ce mag - na: De -
cresc. *f* *p dolce.*
 ex - - cla - ma - vit Je - sus vo - - ce mag - na: De -
cresc. *f* *p dolce.*
 - - cla - ma - vit Je - sus..... vo - - ce mag - na: De -

largo e dolce. *p*
 - - us me - - - - us,..... ut - quid me de - re - li - qui - sti.
p *p*
 - - us me - - - - us,..... ut - quid me de - re - li - qui - sti.
p *p*
 - - us me - - - - us,..... ut - quid me de - re - li - qui - sti.
p *p*
 - - us me - - - - us,..... ut - quid me de - re - li - qui - sti.

Attacca.

Tempo primo. Firmly marked.
 1st
 SOPRANO. Ex - cla - mans Je - sus vo - ce mag -
 2nd
 SOPRANO. Ex - cla - mans Je - sus vo - ce mag - - - - - na
 ALTO. Ex - cla - mans Je - sus

cres. f *dimin.* *p* *più largo. p*

poco riten. *a tempo.*

na - it: in ma-nus tu-as,

cres. f *dimin.* *p* *p*

poco riten. *a tempo.*

vo-ce mag - na a - it: in ma-nus tu-

cres. f *dimin.* *a tempo.* *p*

poco riten. *p*

vo-ce mag - na a - it: in ma-nus tu-as,

p

Do-mi-ne, com-men-do spi - ri - tum me - um.

p

as, Do-mi-ne, com-men - do spi - ri - tum me - - - um.

p

Do-mi-ne, com-men - do spi - ri - tum me - - - um. *Allacca.*

Tempo primo.

mf *p* *pp* *riten. > ppp*

SOPRANO. Et in-cli-na-to ca - pi-te e-mi-sit spi - ri - tum.

mf *p* *pp* *riten. > ppp*

ALTO. Et in-cli-na-to ca - pi-te e-mi-sit spi - ri - tum.

mf *p* *pp* *riten. > ppp*

TENOR. Et in-cli-na-to ca - pi-te e-mi-sit spi - ri - tum.

mf *p* *pp* *riten. > ppp*

BASS. Et in-cli-na-to ca - pi-te e-mi-sit spi - ri - tum.

It is not possible to condense into twenty-seven bars more beauty, simplicity, and feeling than we find here. How thrilling does the lamentation "*Dum crucifixissent Jesum Judaei*" sound, with its ever-moving parts and pointed modulations, after the tranquil "*Tenebrae factae sunt.*" How expressive of pain and sympathy is the phrase "*Exclamavit Jesus voce magna;*" and how gentle and resigned the "*My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?*" And what plaintive wailing is there in the trio that alternates with the chorus. We seem to see before us the three holy women during those terrible moments of agony at the foot of the cross; and witness, too, the deep pathos of the concluding part, foretelling the approaching death of the Saviour in soft tones that die off in a whisper.*

Of the master's remaining important works we name the interesting Mass, "*Tu es pastor ovium;*" also a volume of motets and psalms published in 1581, and a second volume of twenty-nine motets published in 1584. The text of all these various compositions was furnished by the Song of Solomon. Further, we have several hymns and madrigals dedicated to Pope Sixtus V. When but a youthful writer Palestrina set a number of secular madrigals to music, but subsequently disowned them because he thought the text contained objectionable matter. On one Mass recently brought to light the following inscription appears, written in the master's own hand: "*Illumina oculos meos*" ("*Lighten, O Lord, mine eyes*").

In 1861—1863 there appeared three volumes of motets by Palestrina, from an arrangement by De Witt, who died in 1859 at Rome. Besides this, Alfieri published during 1841—1846 an edition in seven volumes, others appearing by De la Fage, Proske, and Franz d'Espagne (1874—1878). In 1871 Robert Eitner published an alphabetical list of all the printed compositions of Palestrina.

* Although it is to be regretted that the manuscript of this work bears neither the signature nor the handwriting of Palestrina, and that it does not appear in the printed editions of the master's works published during his lifetime, yet so much is it conceived and worked out in the true Palestrina style that without much fear of error we boldly assign it to the great Roman. Certain it is that it was not known before Palestrina, and unless we admit his right to the authorship we have the alternative of attributing it to another who, whilst possessing all the genius and individualities of style of the great master, has left but one work to speak of his unknown greatness. But this is contradicted by all historical evidence, and we repeat that without doubt we may safely acknowledge in Palestrina the composer of the grand "*Tenebrae factae sunt.*"

The tone-school which Palestrina instituted at Rome was the medium by which his style was perpetuated after his death. Among the prominent masters of the school was, first, the already named Giovanni Maria Nanini (1540—1607). We must not confound Giovanni with his younger brother Bernardo, or the Abbe Sante Naldini, who were both able masters of the Palestrina style. Giovanni was a man of talent, and besides composing, instructed others in the special manner of his celebrated contemporary. In order to distinguish the school of Palestrina and Nanini from that founded by Goudimel in Rome, the former was known as the younger Roman tone-school.

One of Nanini's compositions, "Hodie nobis coelorum Rex," is still sung every Christmas by the choir of the Papal Chapel. Of Nanini's pupils we might name as the most important Felice and Giovanni Anerio, and Gregorio Allegri. Felice Anerio (1560—1630) wrote many splendid masses and several eight-part motets and psalms, his five-part "Tre libri di Madrigali" and "Due libri di concerti spirituali" deserving special praise. Giovanni Francesco Anerio, born 1567, chapel-master to Sigismund III., King of Poland, published an excellent collection of five-part motets under the poetical title of "Ghirlanda di sacre rose." Gregorio Allegri (1586—1652), by birth a Roman, of the noble house of Correggio, was a most earnest student of the Palestrina style. Besides several masses, motets, and psalms, he has left behind him many imperishable works conceived in the simple and popular style of his predecessors. As a pearl of this kind we may mention the celebrated "Miserere" for two choirs, of nine voices, which is now sung on the Wednesday in Holy Week in the Sistine Chapel at the moment that the last lights before the crucifix go out. Our illustration represents the spot in the Vatican Chapel where this part of the service is performed.

Without claiming too much for Allegri's "Miserere," by its own intrinsic worth it deserves to be ranked equal to the "Stabat Mater" and Passion-music of Palestrina. These compositions are perhaps the best and purest specimens of a *capella* music in its simplest form that can be found in the whole musical literature of that class. As a composer of instrumental music Allegri is said to have attained a fair reputation. This is not supported by any direct testimony; indeed, we have failed to discover anything which might bear it out, beyond that Raphael, who

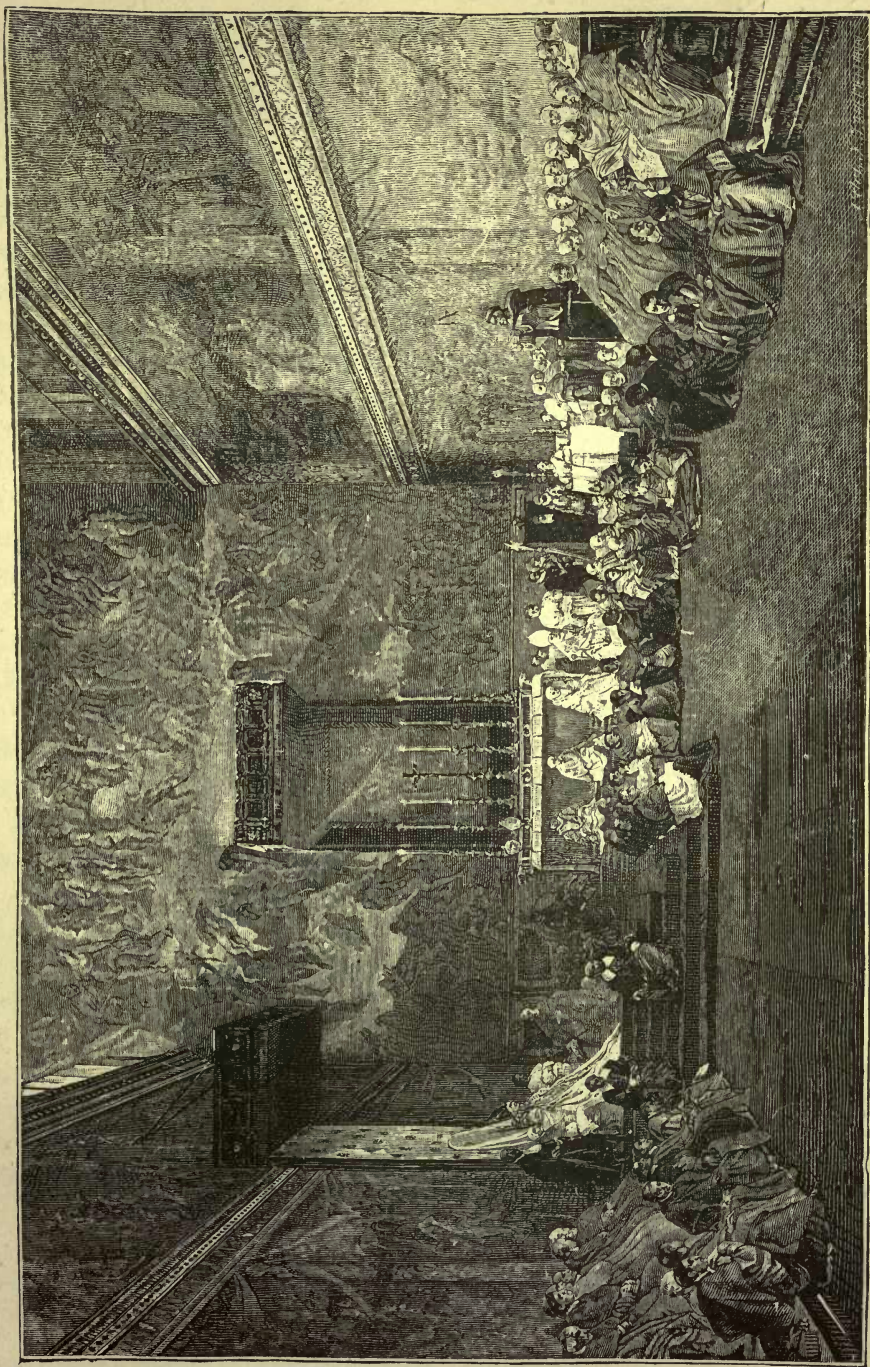


Fig. 212. —The Interior of the Sistine Chapel.

lived more than half a century before Allegri, often chose instrumentalists for subjects, and since, therefore, instrumental music was probably practised by the masters of the Roman school, a great musician like Allegri would have exercised his skill in that department of musical art. We admit that this is no proof of the master's instrumental powers of composition, but since the statement has been generally accepted, we have endeavoured to find some confirmatory evidence. One of Raphael's great pictures, bearing the date 1518, is "The Violin Player." In later times it has been sought to prove the portrait to be that of an historical celebrity, Giovanni Maria,* a converted Hebrew, who held service under the Pope. We might also quote the wealthy goldsmith Benvenuto Cellini (1500—1571), who, when speaking of the pipers of his native city of Florence, alludes to his father's success in the making of "wonderful organs with wooden pipes, clavichords as beautiful as they are good, than which no better can be found, also *violins*, lutes, and harps." Benvenuto himself was also a musician of repute, and held the dual appointment to Pope Clement VII. of horn-player (*i.e.*, player of cornetti) and goldsmith.

Of the remaining *a capella* masters of the Roman school we name the two Mazzocchi, Orazio Benevoli, and Antonio Liberati. With these we may be said to have exhausted the list of important masters of the "Palestrina style" by whose efforts that special form of vocal composition stamps a whole period in the history of music.

With Giacomo Carissimi (1604—1674), and therefore a contemporary of Allegri, we enter upon a new epoch of the tonal art. It was Carissimi who evolved from the sacred cantata the epic dramatic *Cantata da Camera*, consisting of choruses, recitatives, and short arias. This entitles him to the praise of the whole of the musical world, for the outcome of his work was the Oratorio, an art-form that has taken high favour with all nations since the days of its originator. The master's compositions of this class are—*The Judgment of Solomon*, *Belshazzar*, *Abraham and Isaac*, *David and Jonathan*, *Jephthah*, &c., works of so

* See page 408 of Stahr's "A Winter in Rome" (Berlin, 1871), whose authority, we may mention, we have not been able to trace. Passavant and Lübke affect to see in the youthful player Andrea Marone, a famous improvisatore of Brescia who is known to have accompanied his improvisations on the violin. Marone enjoyed the special favour of Pope Leo X., a great lover of music, and had many opportunities for exhibiting his skill.

high an order that they called forth the warmest acknowledgments of the great tone-poet Handel; indeed, the Saxon master went so far as to appropriate twelve entire bars from one of the solid choruses of the finely-conceived *Jephthah* of Carissimi, inserting them in the oratorio of *Samson* as his own.* If we compare the work of Carissimi with that of Filippo Neri, we cannot fail to be struck with the great superiority of the former's epic treatment of a Biblical subject over that of the latter.† The rise of the epic dramatic cantata in Rome, like the growth of many other artistic forms, was intimately associated with the influence of the Renaissance upon the people of Central Europe. There was a general desire to revivify classical art-form. In music this was the epic. Sometimes these forms were unwittingly completely changed and remodelled, and a new life and spirit infused into them entirely foreign to the original.

CHAPTER XV.

THE TUSCAN SCHOOL AND THE MUSICAL DRAMA.

IN Venice and Rome, Church music had been carefully nurtured and brought to a high state of classical beauty, but in Florence, the principal city of Tuscany, the tonal art developed itself in an entirely different direction. It is strange that Florence never should have developed a school of sacred music like that of the two cities just referred to, or even like that which we shall find was instituted by the worldly and merry Naples. Not even the long sojourn of Hobrecht, Josquin, Agricola, and Isaak, from 1480 onwards,

* As this fact is but little known amongst musicians, we give full references to both works. In Handel's *Samson*, bars 26—37 in the A minor chorus, "Hear, Jacob's God," and the chorus "Plorate" of Carissimi (see Kircher's "Musurgia Univers. Roma 1650," i. 603). The slight variations between the two are of no importance to the musician, all items of value coinciding; e.g., the three melodic phrases starting from a common E with the organ point A (bars 34—37), the modulation from E major to C major (bars 29—34) retaining the same bass and treble, and finally both choruses are for six voices and in the same key.

† The recitative and short aria (not unlike a mere cantilena) used by Carissimi were in vogue before that master's time, viz., 1600—1640. The probable inventors of these special forms were Peri, Monteverde, and Cavalli, three names that will take a prominent place in the next chapter, but the credit is Carissimi's for a higher and better development.

was sufficient to lay a foundation on which some sort of school for the cultivation of sacred music might have been erected. Certainly Duke Lorenzo il Magnifico seems to have invited these masters to his capital with that distinct object, but instead of occupying themselves with Biblical subjects, they composed eulogies on the beauty of Florence, or set to music the mask-ball songs of the duke. Even the duke's *St. John* and *St. Paul* (1488), musically treated by Isaak, were clothed in a secular dramatic dress very unbecoming the subject-matter.*

And how are we to explain such a tendency? Was it perhaps partly owing to the strongly-marked character of the people? Let us consider for a minute what was the character of the fellow-citizens of Dante, Michael Angelo, and Benvenuto Cellini. Of a strong democratic spirit, ever ready to enter the lists, the history of the Florentines of the Middle Ages is one long page of restless republican activity. Radical and impulsive, active and energetic, we do not wonder that among such a people the seeds of the musical drama were sown and tended. Again, be it remembered, the city of the Medicis was the first in Italy to foster the culture of the Renaissance. The tonal art, therefore, fell directly under the influence of the earliest of the enthusiastic Renaissance workers. And such influences could not but be detrimental to the development of a sacred music like that which had grown up in other Italian cities, for the art of the Hellenes, which the Renaissance sought to revive, was not the art of a people who had had the fear of God before their eyes and the thought of a future state before their minds, but of one steeped in heathen tradition and given up to the enjoyment of worldly pleasures. It is clear then that if the culture of the Renaissance was to affect the tonal art and be productive of a new phase, it could only be in the direction of the drama. Since the days of the Greek tragedy the dramatic in music had been entirely neglected. Even such of the plays of the Middle Ages as could boast of a musical accompaniment possessed at best but a few choruses, and these were

* We do not intend to convey that during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Florence produced no sacred tone-poets, for this would be at once contradicted by the mere mention of the names of Hobrecht and his confrères, all of whom wrote one or more great sacred works; but what was really the case was that Florence never instituted a school for the sole cultivation of Church music like those established in Rome, Venice, and Naples. The Tuscan capital could occasionally boast of possessing a few composers of purely sacred music, but neither in numbers nor ability did they equal those of the three other famous schools of Italy.

composed in the strict Church style. The epic and lyric sides of the tonal art, both of which it has in common with its sister-art poetry, had been at some time or other more or less developed. We have but lately shown how the epic in music grew under the genius of Carissimi into the oratorio. But it had existed long before the Carissimi age. In one form or another it is to be found in almost all the Passion plays of the Middle Ages; witness the frequent interruption of the story of those plays by the chorus, with its reflective monitions, and also the often sung narrations of the Evangelists. The lyric element in music—of which the culminating point is sacred music (see the Author's "Tonal Art in the History of Civilisation")—was brought to a state of perfection during the second half of the Middle Ages and the century of the Reformation unequalled by any other period in the history of the art of music up to that time.

It is, then, a matter of congratulation, that in the effort to revive Greek tragedy, the dramatic in music received its first and strongest impulse. In the last third of the sixteenth century a number of learned men met in the house of Count Bardi, a member of one of the oldest patrician families of Tuscany, presided over by the host, a warm patron of the arts, there to consider how they could best revive the drama of the ancients. It was the desire of this circle of ardent dilettanti to create an enthusiasm among the people by plays like that produced in the contemplation of excavated statues and the pondering over resuscitated philosophical or historical writings. In other words, they strove to reproduce the tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and their modern imitators, by stage representation. They saw clearly that in order that such plays might be thoroughly understood it was imperatively necessary to illustrate them with scenic effects, and thereby bring out what would probably be lost on a mere reading. To do this the aid of the musician had to be invoked. Greek tradition spoke in no uncertain tongue on this point, and tradition was supported by the plan of the drama and by the text set down for the chorus. Music was necessary, but where was it to be found? Alas! the original had been lost, and so our enthusiasts looked to their contemporary musicians to invent such a music as would befit the drama. Music was supplied, but the play proved unsuccessful. Although provided with seemingly appropriate music, they could not gain for the resuscitated tragedy a

new life. Still, the failure of the drama was the success of the tonal art. It called into existence an entirely new kind of music, the dramatic, and it was from essays in this direction that the opera was to bloom.

Our Tuscan enthusiasts, in their eager search after the antique musical drama, seem to us not unlike Saul, who, going forth to find his father's cattle, found a kingdom. Even if fitting music had been written for the resuscitated drama, it could never have received that full acknowledgment of worth which is the right of original work, for, however masterly composed, it would always have been a "counterfeit presentment." But in their strivings to rehabilitate the drama with its original accessories, they were led into new pastures of the tonal art, which have yielded the grandest results. And thus it is ever with God's dealings with man. The creature believes himself a free agent to select and tread what paths he will, and, walking, he is happy in the search of what he has put himself to find; whereas he is but threading his way along the road already predestined for him in the unalterable laws of the Most High, leading him to things he dreamt not of.

We will now glance at the embryo opera and the early beginnings which led up to and prepared the ground for one of the most artistic and popular branches of the tonal art. In treating of the sojourn of the Dutch, Belgian, and German masters Hobrecht, Agricola, Josquin, and Isaak at Florence, we briefly alluded to the use of instrumental and choral music at the masquerades and carnivals of the city. This usage we can trace in Italy, however, back to a much earlier period than that of Hobrecht. As far back as 1350, we possess accounts of carnival drolleries in Tuscany at which music formed an important part. It seems that it was the practice to bring the merry-making to a close by a short improvised dramatic representation with the *accompaniment of music*, and it is in these musically illustrated masquerades that we believe we see the germs of art-music uniting themselves to the drama, crude and feeble though those performances were. The music for these short plays was always supplied by celebrated composers of the day. Towards the end of the fourteenth century the practice of interspersing plays with music began to grow in Italy, and especially in Tuscany. The musical compositions so introduced were called *Intermezze*. They consisted principally of madrigals which were sung by the chorus,

the text of the part-songs always bearing some relation to the action of the play. The reader will notice at once how far yet we were from the formation of a music-drama. And it is surprising that this primitive connection of song with the drama should have continued down to 1545 (*vide* the *Egle* of Antonio del Cornetto), and even to 1597 A.D. in *L'Anfiparnasso*, a comic drama by Orazio Becchi, published at Venice. In both these operas the text set down for an individual character was sung in five-part choruses, composed in the style of madrigals. It was this unsatisfactory state of things that brought about the long-needed reform in dramatic music. It set lovers of art, both professor and layman, pondering how music could be best united to the drama. And matters were brought to a climax by an event apparently quite outside the progress of art, viz., the marriage of Bianca Capello, a celebrated Venetian beauty, with Francesco I., Duke of Tuscany. To celebrate the marriage there were the usual festivities, and a dramatic representation with the then inseparable musical accompaniment. The great Venetian masters, Claudio Merulo and Andrea Gabrieli, supplied the necessary music, which consisted of choruses composed in the usual polyphonic style and according to strict canon law. The result of such a rigid adherence to grammar was that the bridal part-songs partook more of the solemn character of Church hymns than the bright joyousness of festal lays. The text was suitable to the event, and consisted of a series of laudatory comments on the surpassing loveliness of the bride, so that on hearing the music one is immediately struck by its inappropriateness. This was the general feeling among the Florentine nobility who assisted at the ceremony, and the dilettanti, unable to conceal their disaffection, broke out into violent denunciation of music so unfitted for such an occasion. The Florentine noble, Count Bardi, and his art-enthusiasts were deeply impressed with the fiasco, and determined to try and provide a more suitable music for future secular dramatic representations.

It was fortunate for the cause that the Count and his friends had at heart, that among their coterie of artists and amateurs they numbered only two or at the most three professional musicians. The remainder of this art-historical circle consisted of nobles, patricians, poets, savants, improvisatori, and actors. If the professed musician had predominated we have not much doubt that the laity would never have had the courage to override the

acknowledged masters in the art, and set at naught all grammar and tradition, as they were compelled to do and did do. They were not awed by any hideous thought of casting to the winds the experiences and prejudices of the professor. If any dread of violating hard-and-fast theory had had any weight with them, their efforts would have been paralysed, and we should never have had our embryo opera, which, if incomplete and wanting in continuity, still was such that it materially prepared the way for the development of higher and more artistic forms. And here we must pay a just tribute to dilettantism, since it was owing to the efforts of those ardent Florentine amateurs that one of the noblest and most popular branches of musical art was originated.

It will not be uninteresting if, for a short time, we devote ourselves to a short study of the lives of this circle of refined scholars and classical enthusiasts of Florence. The animating spirit of the whole was Giovanni Bardi, Count of Vernio. He was both poet and composer, and seems to have held some appointment which gave him the right of controlling all court festivities. At these he introduced his artistic friends, who were known as the "Academy," giving with their assistance rude dramatic performances which have become historical. He is also known as the author of *L'Amico Fido*, a drama to which, in 1585, he added an original intermezzo. The next in importance to the Count was one Corsi, who, when Bardi entered the service of Pope Clement VIII., made his own house the meeting-place for the academy. The best poet of the society seems to have been Ottavio Rinuccini. Then follow Pietro Strozzi, poet and composer; Emilio del Cavaliere, ducal superintendent of the fine arts; and Vincenzo Galilei, one of the shining lights of the fraternity, he having obtained notoriety as a composer, lutenist, mathematician, and littérateur. This same Galilei was the father of the immortal astronomer and philosopher. Together with Battista Doni he took a prominent part in the paper warfare that was waged at Florence between the supporters of the contrapuntal style and the lovers of antique music, of the latter of which he and his friend were warm champions. One of the principal opponents of Galilei was his old master Zarlino, the famed contrapuntist of Venice, who appears to have dealt with his quondam pupil in a very imperious manner.* The great theorist Artusi, author of "*Delle Imperfettioni della Moderna Musica*," Venice, 1600,

* See "Dialogo della Musica Antica e Moderna, di Vincentio Galilei, in sua difesa contra Joseffo Zarlino. Fiorenza, 1602."

was at first a supporter of Galilei and the Florentines, but he subsequently became the most determined opponent to any revival of ancient music, and his attacks on Monteverde in this respect are of a very pungent kind.

Girolamo Mei, author of a treatise "On the Tonal Art of the Ancients and Moderns," Venice, 1602, and collaborator with Galilei in the "Dialogo della Musica," was also an opponent of the contrapuntists. Another admirer of the music of the ancients was Giulio Caccini, composer, singer, and author. In a preface to his "Nuove Musiche" he discourses in a learned and interesting manner on modern art, and placing himself in the front of the battle, he stoutly contends for the retention of solo song, which had fallen greatly into disuse. He was one of the professed musicians of that circle of important and remarkable men who had united themselves together for the purpose of creating a dramatic style in music. Luca Marenzio, a madrigalist of great repute, and perhaps as a musician superior to Caccini, was also a member of the Bardi coterie. In 1589 he composed madrigals for the "Intermezzo Combattimento d'Apolline col Serpente." But it was not until the time of Jacopo Peri that what our enthusiasts had striven to accomplish, and had indeed in part achieved, although in a limited manner, was to be moulded into an art-work, and impressed with a vitality that has borne the best fruits. Notwithstanding, therefore, all the artistic instincts of our dilettanti, it was not until the professed musician had added his genius that it could be said that one of the noblest forms of art was on the way to its consummation.*

We must not omit to refer to the active co-operation of certain intelligent women in the furthering of the musical drama in Tuscany, a co-operation that arose through the general interest taken by all educated

* If we ask ourselves whether Galilei and Doni were right in their attacks on the contrapuntists, who, be it remembered, comprised the greatest masters of the Italian Church style, we can only give a conditional reply, for if our Greek enthusiasts on the Arno wished to create, as they partially succeeded in doing, a new school of art, it was necessary that they should break with the then ruling polyphonic Church style, and if such a break was to come to pass, it was well for our art that it should take place in Florence. But viewed from the unbiassed standpoint of the musical historian, we cannot justify the attacks on Zarlino and Gabrieli, masters who represent to us moderns the highest musical culture of Europe in the sixteenth century. The works of Palestrina and Gabrieli possess to-day an inherent vitality which will remain to them for all time; but where are the writings of the Florentine enthusiasts of the *Stile rappresentativo*? We know them—yes; but how? As works of interest to the historian only.

persons in the culture of the Renaissance. In this art-work two names stand prominently forward—Vittoria Archilei, a singer, and Laura Guidiccioni, a poetess. Archilei proved herself a great artist; the Italians called her “Euterpe,” and Peri expressed himself honoured that she approved of his *Eurydice*. Emilio del Cavaliere acquired fame as the writer of two pastoral plays, the titles of which are not to hand, and a sacred one, *L'Anima e il Corpo*. We are happy to pay this tribute of praise to the tender sex for the assistance they rendered in the generating and cradling of the opera, for these early Florentine dramas belong to the earliest attempts in the musical dramatic style.

We will now return to the individual workings of the early Tuscan operatic writers. The disapprobation expressed by Count Bardi and his friends of the bridal music of 1579 was the beginning of that acrimonious paper war led by Galilei and Mei against Zarlino, and in 1581 against the whole of the Venetian contrapuntal school. But our Greek enthusiasts did not merely concern themselves with attacking and attempting to discredit the theories of their opponents, but strove to indicate the goal of their ambition. And again it was Galilei who pioneered the way. His first effort was a dramatic scena for one voice with the accompaniment of a single instrument. The subject was “Ugolino,” from Dante’s “Purgatorio,” of which he performed the title rôle, accompanying himself on the viola. The scena was eminently successful, and the applause of his friends most hearty. He next composed the “Lamentations of Jeremiah” for one voice. These songs were called *Monodies*, and form an epoch in musical history. Hitherto, when a solo song was wanted, the practice had been to select one of the parts from a chorus, and sing it as though it had been originally penned as a solo piece, a custom which certainly seems to us to have been behind the times, but now with Galilei’s *Monodies* we have pure solo songs, felt and conceived for one voice. If dramatic music was to be created, it was necessary before all things that a solo song should exist. It is the medium best fitted for the expression of the thoughts, emotions, and actions of individuals, as choral song is for similar feelings of masses. With him, the solo song, even when in combination with other soli, *i.e.*, in concerted music, retained its individual and characteristic expression. The essential of dramatic music is the monologue, and Galilei with his far-seeing genius created the Monody. Following

directly in Galilei's wake came Giulio Caccini, who composed several sonnets and canzonets for a single voice, which Doni considered superior and more pleasing than the soli pieces of Galilei. Amongst the music composed for the festival play of Count Bardi, in honour of the marriage of Virginia de Medici with Cesare d'Este in 1585 at Florence, are said to be several songs in the Monodic style of Galilei.

The merit of being the first to create a musical play in which the whole of the story was musically told has been ascribed to Emilio del Cavaliere. In the pastoral plays written for him in 1590 by Laura Guidiccioni, the success that attended the representations was entirely owing to the music. He did not treat his subjects in the same manner as the musical drama of our day, but used more extensively the popular madrigal form with its full choral parts. His treatment was not unlike that of the "Combattimento d'Apolline" by Luca Marenzio. But what is generally accepted by the musical world as the *first opera* is Jacopo Peri's setting of the poet Rinuccini's *Daphne*, performed, through the exertions of the Bardi circle, in 1594 at the house of Corsi. *Daphne* was pronounced by all a success; and Peri, elated with his triumph, immediately set to work and produced *Eurydice*, a musico-dramatic pastoral, performed in 1600 at the marriage of Henry IV. of France with Maria de Medici at Florence. The composer sang the part of Orpheus, ladies and gentlemen of the highest families in Italy rendering the other characters. If *Daphne* was a success, *Eurydice* was still greater, the enthusiasm being unbounded. By his first work the master's fame was celebrated throughout Italy; by his second he gained European renown.

In a preface to *Eurydice*, published at Venice, Peri tells us how he was led to the discovery of the new and vital style in music. He says that in studying the drama of the ancients he felt convinced that they had adopted a tone of expression other than that of every-day speech, which, though never rising into song, was nevertheless musically coloured. This induced him to carefully observe the various manners of speaking in daily life, and these he endeavoured to reproduce in music as faithfully as he could. Soft and gentle speech he interpreted by half-spoken, half-sung tones on a sustained instrumental bass; feelings of a deeper emotional kind by a melody with greater intervals and a lively tempo, the accompanying instrumental harmonies changing more frequently. Sometimes he em-

ployed dissonances. This was the beginning of the *dramatic recitative*, and the honour of its invention is Peri's. Compared with the Church recitative, it is an immense step onward. The new dramatic recitative, even without its instrumental accompaniment of chords, compares most favourably with the old Church psalms and antiphones, most of which were recited on one tone, the whole cadence certainly never exceeding the interval of a fourth. Peri's recitative is superior even to the secco-recitative of to-day, and still more to that of the so-called *parlando* of the *opera buffa* of the Italians. But as every inventor has envious and intriguing rivals, so we see Caccini anxiously trying to make the world believe that he and not Peri was the originator of the recitative. Certainly, in the dramatic soli of Caccini we sometimes find foreshadowings of the *cantilena*, and an occasional aria-like leading of the theme when the text assumes a lyrical character. But identical workings are to be found in Peri's compositions, and as far as the invention of the recitative is concerned, we are bound to say that the honour seems unquestionably to belong to Peri, whose writings of this class have all the appearance of being the elder.*

With *Eurydice* a new dramatic form was established in the tonal art, and one so popular that it immediately found imitators all over Italy. The crop of musical dramas that sprang up in the north of Italy was especially plentiful. At first the opera was variously styled according to the individuality of the composer, though all the designations indicated the subject-matter and style of the composition. The style itself was generally called *Stile rappresentativo*, and sometimes *Stile parlante*; the work, *Dramma per Musica*, *Melodrama*, or (as in Peri's *Eurydice*) *Tragedia per Musica*, or *Tragicomedia*. It was not until about 1650 that the title *Opera in Musica* first came into use, which a little later was reduced to *Opera*, and under this name it went to France.

About the year 1608 Florence, Mantua, Bologna, and Venice became centres of dramatic styles, and first among Italian dramatic composers stands Claudio Monteverde (1568—1651), who without hesitation we point to as

* G. G. Guidi, of Florence, published in 1863 a new edition of Peri's *Eurydice*. In it the recitatives are accompanied by a figured bass, and the choruses *alla capella* are for three, four, and five voices. On page 10 there is a short instrumental introduction in three parts, bearing the significant title *Suonata*.

the most important dramatic composer of the seventeenth century. It was probably at the representations of *Eurydice* and *Daphne* in 1600 and 1604, at Florence and Parma, that Monteverde drank in the first draughts of the *dramma per musica*, which were afterwards to inspire his inventive genius and produce the most splendid fruit for the musical world, to which even masters of to-day return with advantage. Monteverde began his studies at Mantua under the contrapuntist Ingegneri, whose strict theoretical teachings were, however, very uncongenial to him. Between 1587 and 1638 he published several madrigals, the first two books of which were in the traditional style of part-song compositions, whilst six others that he brought out break entirely with the old school. It was the publication of this set of six that drew upon him the attacks of Artusi, to which we have already referred. In 1603 Monteverde was appointed Court chapel-master to the Duke of Mantua, and under the auspices of this prince he produced in 1607 his opera of *Orpheus*. In this opera we meet with the first musical dramatic duet. The libretto was supplied by Rinuccini, the same poet, it will be remembered, who penned the *Orpheus* of Peri. The following year (1608) saw two more important works of this master's performed, *Ariadne* and *Il Ballo delle Ingrate*, or "The Dance of the Coquettes." In *Ariadne* he makes an attempt to work out a flowing melody, though in the narrow and indefinite form of the *cavatina*. The lament of the forsaken Ariadne is most touching and expressive. The *Il Ballo delle Ingrate* was performed at the wedding of Francis Gonzaga with Marguerite of Savoy. As a work of historical and musical importance in the development of the opera, it possesses a twofold significance: first, as regards a play which is partly sung and partly accompanied by the orchestra, and secondly as reflecting the spirit of the Renaissance, in its indications of the punishments in Hades that await the fair ones who trifle with the affections of their swains. After the suffering coquettes have bewailed their own heartlessness in pantomimic action and song, Venus and Pluto advance to the front and admonish the feminine part of the audience in the following strains:—"May the punishments, which you have witnessed befall the wicked, deter you from meriting a like fate. Know that your charms are evanescent, and in spite of your will, time ruthlessly robs you of your beauty. Beware, vain mortals, your loveliness is not immortal."



THE VIOLINIST.

(Portrait of Himself, by Gerard Dow.)

Another important step onward in the development of the opera was *Il Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda*, composed by Monteverde in 1624 and published with his "Madrigali Guerrieri." Of itself it forms an epoch in the history of the tonal art. In it we see a remarkable endeavour on the part of the master to illustrate by orchestral colouring that excess of dramatic movement and life which the singer alone is incompetent of expressing. In order to justly appreciate the merits of Monteverde as a tone-colourist, we must compare his orchestra with that of his immediate predecessors. In 1565 Striggio and Cortecchia scored their "Intermezze" for 2 Gravicembali, 4 Violini, 1 Leuto mezzano, 1 Cornetto muto, 4 Tromboni, 2 Flauti diritti, 4 Traverse, 1 Leuto grosso, 1 Sotto basso di viola, 1 Sopran di viola, 4 Leuti, 1 Viola d'arco, 1 Lirone, 1 Traverso contralto, 1 Flauto grande Tenore, 1 Tromboni Basso, 5 Storte, 1 Stortina, 2 Cornetti Ordinarii, 1 Cornetto Grosso, 1 Dolzania, 1 Lira, 1 Ribecchino, and 2 Tamburi. Thirty-five years after, the orchestra of Monteverde consisted of 2 Gravicembali (clavicembali), 2 Contrabassi da Viola, 10 Viole di Brazzo, 1 Arpa doppia, 2 Violini piccioli alla Francese, 2 Chitarroni, 2 Organi di legno, 1 Regal, 3 Bassi da Gamba, 4 Tromboni, 2 Cornetti, 1 Flautino (flageolet), 1 Clarino (soprano trumpet), and 3 Trombe sordini (muted trumpets). In what then consists the superiority of the scoring of Monteverde over that of his predecessors? It is in the greater use of stringed instruments played with a bow. Striggio and his contemporaries had a predilection for instruments of percussion, lutes and lyres, and wind instruments, but the musical dramatist loved the violin. In Monteverde we recognise the man to whom the musical world is indebted for the composition of the present orchestra, the capabilities of which for a beauteous interpretation of polyphonic instrumental music are principally owing to the preponderance of stringed instruments played with the bow. The truth of this assertion is seen in the subordinate position assigned by the contemporaries of Monteverde to stringed instruments. Peri, in his *Eurydice*, employed a Clavier, a Lute, a Theorbo, and a big Lyra; and even Emilio del Cavaliere, in the oratorio *L'Amina e Corpo*, used only one Lira doppia, one Cembalo, a Chitarrone, and two Flauti. If the accompaniment of the choruses and dances of these works was not restricted to the few instruments which we have just named, and which were employed principally to accompany the soli,

then such of the bowed instruments as were introduced were assigned to a very minor position. That Monteverde was the one who made the greatest advance in the use of bowed instruments is proved still more by his *Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda*. It is here that he depicts in the orchestra those feelings which the unaided voice is incapable of expressing. In order to thrill his audience at the moment when, in a duel, Tancredi mortally wounds his unrecognised love, he invented the *tremolo* on the stringed instruments, a clever striking device. And in the invention of realistic effects he was equally great. It was he who invented the *pizzicato*, using it for the first time in his *Tancredi* to illustrate the clashing and glittering of the crossing of swords. Every one will admit that the *tremolo* and *pizzicato* belong to the most effective means of dramatic expression of the present day. But Monteverde is not only entitled to our praise for increasing the capabilities of the orchestra by these two great means, but also because he wrote such passages and figures for the violin and its related instruments as demanded an increase in the compass.

Such special and characteristic writing for the violin was naturally followed by a general improvement in the style of playing, and the cry went forth for an instrument that would permit the exhibition of executive skill. We propose therefore to leave the master to whom so much is owing, and discourse on the instrument and the changes it underwent from this time in the north of Italy. We begin with Cremona, the native place of Monteverde, and the city which took the lead in the making of violins. Makers vied with each other in the production of an instrument that should gain the praise of the master or his skilful pupils. But before we enter upon the success which attended their efforts, we would first draw attention to the fact that the shape of the modern violin is of German origin, and not Italian, and that its general form and structure are almost identical with those of the old German Geige.

The various instruments of the violin kind known in Italy at the time of Monteverde were the Rota, Giga, Ribecchino, and Violino, with its offshoots the Viola d'amore, Viola da braccio (or arm-fiddle), known in Germany as the Bratsche, the Viola da gamba (or leg viol), and Viola da gamba bastarda. Although similar in structure to the modern violin, viola, violoncello, and contrabasso, the form was still crude and

imperfect. The old Italian stringed instruments of which we have spoken were the stepping-stones towards that perfected ideal which dates its birth some time during the second half of the sixteenth century in the north of Italy. The first step toward that skilfully and perfectly fashioned instrument which, if it has been equalled, has certainly never been surpassed, was taken by Master Kaspar Tieffenbrucker, a native of the German Tyrol. As far back as 1511 we find the name of Tieffenbrucker celebrated as the maker of superior violins, the success of the master attracting a number of earnest imitators. And his followers were extremely successful, his Tyrolean countrymen, the brothers Stainer (1621—1659), acquiring perhaps the greatest celebrity.

The instruments made by Tieffenbrucker, or, as the Italians called him,

Duiffoprugcar, were most tastefully ornamented, the belly with the arms and coronets of princes in gold, and the back with inlaid views of the chief Italian cities, copies of celebrated paintings by Italian masters, and beautiful arabesques.

The illustration on the next page of a Viola da gamba by Tieffenbrucker, bearing the date 1547, with a portrait surrounded by tasteful

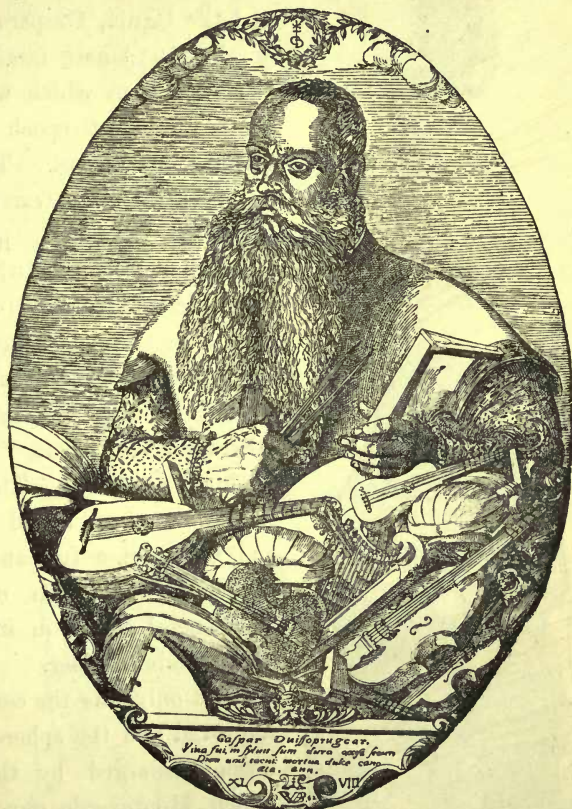


Fig. 213.—Kaspar Tieffenbrucker.

arabesques, will afford the reader some notion of the skill of the old German master.*

The followers of Tieffenbrucker did not confine their operations to the

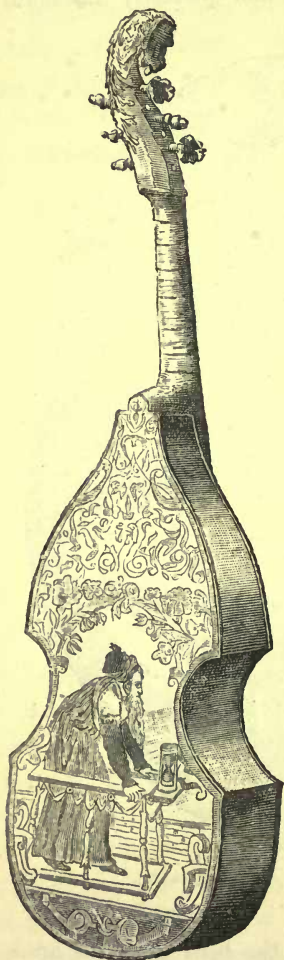


Fig. 214.--Viola da Gamba.


German Tyrol, but spread themselves over the north of Italy. At Brescia we find Maggini; at Lake Garda, Gasparo di Salo; and, greatest of all, the Amati family at Cremona (1592—1682), from which we date the beginning of the grandest epoch of successful violin-making in Europe. The Amatis were followed by the Stradivari and the Guarneri, the greatest of whom, perhaps, was Antonio Stradivari (1644—1737). The violins and other string instruments played with the bow that were made by these famous makers are spoken of now in the same way that we speak of a celebrated painting, and the price of a "Stradivarius" or an "Amati" oftentimes runs as high as £300. The characteristic of the Amati is a sweet round tone, of the Stradivari and Guarneri a full and powerful one. The following illustration may be of interest to the general reader in its connection with the art of violin-making.

Not only was the construction of the violin improved and the sphere of the orchestral performer enlarged by the greater importance which Monteverde gave to the violin in his operatic scoring, but, by the special passages written for the instrument by Monteverde, solo performers on bowed instruments were called forth, and were stimulated to an executive

* Kiesewetter states that he has seen a violin by the famous Tyrolese in which Tieffenbrucker had etched the following ingenious poetical motto, "Viva fui in sylvis, dum vixi tacui, mortua dulce cano"—a significant motto, since it is found inscribed on the portrait of the clever man.

skill hitherto not thought of. In this they had full scope to indulge their fancy in the magnificent instruments then being turned out by violin-makers.

*Hieronimus Amati Cremonensis
Fecit Anno salutis 1697*

*Antonius Stradiuarius Cremonensis
Faciebat Anno 1719* 

*Benetto e covoello da me Pietro Guarneri
Cremonese in Mantova 1697*

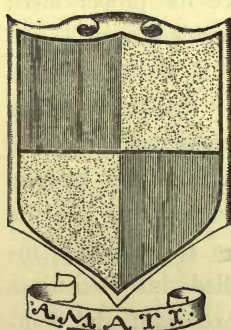


Fig. 215.—Crests and Monograms of the Three Celebrated Cremona Violin-Makers.

One of the first masters who intentionally wrote solo pieces for the violin was Biagio Marini, who died at Padua in 1660. Then follows Carlo Farina, the composer of a *Capriccio stravagante*, a very interesting piece of work. Farina flourished during the middle of the seventeenth century, and is known to have held service under the Elector of

Saxony. Next, Battista Vitali of Cremona (1644—1692), Bassani of Bologna (1657—1716), and Giuseppe Torelli of Verona (1650—1708), and his sometime contemporary Antonio Vitali, the inventor of the *variation* form (witness particularly his *Ciaccona* in G minor). Vitali wrote two solo violin pieces without any background support whatsoever. Torelli, on the other hand, had a predilection for the form what we now call the violin concerto—that is, performances by a soloist with orchestral accompaniment.



Fig. 216.—Arcangelo Corelli.

The second half of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries represent then in the history of music the period of solo performance and resultant virtuosity as opposed to the hitherto concerted performances. With the growth of the musical drama individualism began to receive its proper meed of acknowledgment. In this, as in the Florentine Monody (which, after having separated the solo vocalist from the chorus,

turned towards the orchestra and sought there its soloist), we see the reflection of the Renaissance spirit, which ever strove to emphasise individuality. A model type of the virtuoso thus called into existence was Arcangelo Corelli (1653—1713). As a brilliant executant and composer Corelli takes very high rank. With this master, the greatest solo violinist of the seventeenth century, closes the first epoch of Italian violin virtuosi.

Corelli was the first to change the key of the *Adagio* movement in the sonata form. Hitherto it had been the same as that of the other sections of the sonata, but he altered it either to the dominant or subdominant, an innovation that finds acceptance at the present day. The name

sonata can be traced back to the Venetian master, G. Gabrieli. Neri, organist of St. Mark's, 1644, wrote sonatas for a small orchestra. It is about this time that we first observe the presence of two forms of sonata, secular and sacred, called respectively *Sonata da camera* and *Sonata da chiesa*. In the development of the latter form Corelli very materially assisted, writing as many as sixty secular violin sonatas. In these he did not, as has been stated by some writers, employ the *Concerto grosso* form.* Those critics have been misled by the publication of twelve of the sixty sonatas referred to, by Geminiani of Rome, in 1712, under the title of "Concerti Grossi." The description of the volume was the publisher's own, who, knowing that the *Concerto grosso* first came into existence during Corelli's time, thought, no doubt, that he was quite correct in thus designating his edition.†

Another outcome of the opera was the introduction of *thorough bass* into musical practice, and again it is Tuscany, in the person of that great artist Peri, that is to the fore. In the year 1600 we find the master using a thorough bass in his *Eurydice*. Its invention, we take it, was owing to the amount of recitative with which his music-dramas abounded, so that, to economise space, time, and labour, the master adopted certain equivalents for certain harmonies, *i.e.*, a ciphered bass, now known under the name of thorough bass. Peri did not, however, restrict the use of the figured bass to recitative, as in his *Eurydice* and other works we find it elsewhere employed. In the canzone of Orpheus, "Givite al conto mio,"

* Corelli's concertos are scored for a quartett of two violins, viola, and violoncello; besides two ripieno violin-parts, and a figured bass for the organ.—F. A. G. O.

† The *Concerto grosso* was invented in the north of Italy as an intermedial art-form between the full orchestral and solo performance. The orchestra usually numbered seven instruments, three of which were employed as solo instruments and were called *concertino*, the remaining four representing the *Concerto grosso*. In performance these two divisions alternated with each other. The *concertino* was composed of either two violins and viola, or two violins and viola da gamba. The new art-form found much favour in Germany, and was used with success by G. F. Händel and Sebastian Bach. The *Concerto grosso*, however, never found so many adherents as the *Concerto da camera*, a form invented almost simultaneously with the *grosso*. Corelli (1680) was especially active in the development of the *Concerto da camera*, a form very similar to the overture which originated with the Neapolitans, the middle movement of each possessing a cantabile character that relieves the animating opening and closing parts. The *Concerto da camera* also found its way into Germany, and was very successfully adopted by Benda and Quanz. We must not omit to state that the movements of Corelli's sonatas consisted of either old dance forms, which afterwards grew into the *Suite de pièces*, or free and elegantly-constructed parts, contrapuntally treated.

he has used the accidentals ♭, ♮, ♯, and the figures 7, 6, 10, 11, the last two of which represent the third and fourth of the higher octave.

Turning now to sacred music, we find that the desire to emancipate the solo from the choral song led to the use of thorough bass in Church compositions in the same manner that it was employed in the music-drama. Throughout Lombardy, the north of Italy, and the Papal States, the monody was deservedly popular, and could not but conduce to the invention of some such contrivance. The solo voice of the monody, it will be remembered, was not supported by a vocal harmony, but by an instrumental bass, which gave to the voice a harmonic foundation, no matter how simple. As far as we can trace, the first master to employ the figured bass in Church music was Ludovico Viadana, born at Lodi in 1565, and died about 1645 at Mantua. In his first *Concerto da chiesa*, composed for the Cathedral of Fano in the north of Italy, where he occupied the post of chapel-master in 1600, we find monodies, as well as movements for two and three solo voices accompanied by an instrumental or organ bass called *basso continuo*. We have found it stated in some works that Viadana was the originator of thorough bass, but this is an error, and we can only surmise that the mistake has arisen through it being observed that *bassus generalis* was sometimes written for *basso continuo*. The figured marking that characterises thorough bass is not used at all in *basso continuo*. However, Viadana's pupil Agazzari (1578—1640) largely uses figures, and we regard him as one of the earliest masters who adopted this modern musical stenography, a contrivance which indicates harmonies in a similar manner that the phonetic Neume signs indicated melodies. It is worthy of note that the harmonies of the thorough bass of the Florentine music-dramas were always such that they were capable of performance on one instrument, the Tuscans arguing that an accompaniment by several instruments would tie the singer, and take away from him that freedom of execution as regards time and movement which they desired he might enjoy. But the accompanying instrument was not always the same. Peri and Caccini, in order to gain a variety of tone-colouring, divided their recitative thorough bass between the clavicembalo, the lute, and a stringed instrument played with the bow. To these Monteverde added wood wind instruments (*organi di legno*), using them with much dramatic force to illustrate certain emotions and situations.

Next to Monteverde, the most important music-dramatist was his pupil Caletti Bruni (1599—1676), or, as he was more popularly called, Francesco Cavalli, a native of Crema, near Venice. Some time prior to his death he was appointed chief chapel-master to St. Mark's. Two years before the appearance of Cavalli's first opera, a music-drama, *Andromeda*, by Francesco Manelli, a Florentine, had appeared. In 1639 *Le Nozze di Teti e di Peleo*, by the Crema master, was performed in Venice with marked success. The recitatives in this work alternate between the solemn and the passionate. They are relieved by instrumental interludes of a pompous or emotional character that remind one strongly of the master Monteverde. A grand effect is obtained by an *alla caccia*, or hunting chorus, the music heralding the appearance of the huntsmen being appropriately descriptive. In Cavalli's *Giasone*, performed in 1640, the choruses disappear entirely, and are replaced by ariettas and duets of a remarkable dramatic character. The recitative form of Cavalli is greatly superior to that of Monteverde. It is developed more freely, and evidences a desire to fit the tone to the words. Cavalli further introduced *word-repetition* into his ariettas—a proceeding hitherto disapproved of by the Florentine school. In *Giasone* the melodic style of the ariettas and duets and the dramatic treatment of the recitative appear more strongly marked than they could possibly be in the continuous flow of Monteverde, wherein recitative and chorus are very similarly constructed. Yet they do not equal the three-part aria developed later by the Neapolitans. As a piece of historical information we have to note that it was in Cavalli's time that the Castrati first appear, the solo soprano and alto parts of the music-drama being sung by males.

The many changes which the Florentine music-drama underwent which we have recounted above were all so many steps in the evolution of the opera. And now we would draw attention to certain practices that existed among the followers of Monteverde which have again appeared in this nineteenth century. First, the concealment of the orchestra; secondly, the announcement of the beginning of the music-drama or an act by a flourish of trumpets;* and thirdly, the writing of explanatory prefaces to their stage works. It will be present to the mind of every student that similar practices to those of the Tuscans of the seventeenth century are indulged in

* Monteverde, in his *Orpheus* (1607), used five trumpets to announce the commencement of his opera.

by the Wagner school of the nineteenth century—resemblances that are significant when we remember that the dramatic style and principle of the two schools completely tally.

Cavalli is credited with the composition of thirty-nine music-dramas (some say forty-five), all of which he is said to have written in thirty years. In one year (1651) we know he composed no less than five. His *Giasone* gained for him the praise of all Italy and France, Cardinal Mazarin calling the master to Paris to conduct personally his opera *Serse* (Xerxes), which was ordered to be performed at the marriage of Louis XIV. Cavalli's opera was not the first performed at Paris, the *Eurydice* of Peri having been performed in the French capital by a travelling company of Florentines in 1647. Germany was not immediately acquainted with the good work done by the Tuscans, acquiring its knowledge of the Florentine music-drama only in an indirect manner through Heinrich Schütz, who, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, paid two visits to Tuscany. But the Florentine art did not find so much favour with the Germans as it did with the French.

Of the remaining Italian masters of the music-drama who were either the contemporaries or the immediate followers of Monteverde and Cavalli, we name Marc' Antonio Cesti of Tuscany (1620—1669), chapel-master of Florence and also to the Emperor Leopold I., and composer of *Oronthea*, *La Dori*, and *Il Pomo d'Oro*; the masters Rosetti, Sacrati, Legrenzi (whom we shall meet again), Ziani, Pallavicini, and Draghi of Ferrara.

The music-drama in its early days, and especially during the creative activity of Peri and Monteverde, was distinctly an aristocratic art. As a rule, performances were given only at court, to which none but nobles and patricians were admitted. But under the pupils of the Tuscans the music-drama, from about 1630, acquired a democratic publicity in the very city, Venice, where "select" performances had hitherto been the order of the day. Private theatres, *e.g.*, the San Cassiano, at which representations by invitation had been given, were now thrown open to all who chose to pay for admission. This change, and the interest evinced by the public in the new art-form, resulted in the production of an almost incredible number of new works. In Venice alone, between 1637 and 1730, no less than 650 operas, by a hundred different composers, were performed. It was during this century that the music-drama, which in its origin was subordinate to poetry,

developed into the opera in which the tonal art in and for itself is the principal element, fashioning its forms according to its own requirements. But the highest achievements in the realm of dramatic music were not fully accomplished until more than a century later, results brought about by the fusion of the declamatory style of the Tuscans and their pupils the French, with the melodic and organically membered art-forms of the Neapolitans and the Germans, who at that time were the disciples of the Neapolitan school.



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